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St. C. 4



The Explanation of the EMBLEM.

Ponderibus grauius me malis, prebrigo, grauioribus.
Vt ego feruida seruu. Alma ut Depressa, resurgam.

Ac, voluit undarum Fluctibus Ventisq. furorcm
Bruti Populi, Repes immota repelle
Clauis d. tenebris, caelestis illa, corusca.
Villae et aeternum felici face triumpho.

Sus Fulgentem rutilo, gemmisq. micantem.
At curis Auvidam sperando calco Coronam

Spinolam, a ferri huiusmodi, pro Spes mea, Cuius
Maculis, Nihil non est tractare molition.

Ratrem, focii fidei, sempiterna beatam
In Caeli oculis Specto, Nihilq. fatum.

Quod Vanum est, spero, quod Christi Gratia subest
Quod Nilum est, Nihilq. Gloria moros.

To Xⁱ idem elixit the wola, idem in Katerwa

Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise.

And as th' unmou'd Rock, out-braves
The boisterous Windes and raging waves
So triumph I, And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darkness night.

That Splendid, but yet tedious Crown
Regardlessly I trample down.

With joy I take the Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born.

That heau'nlic Crown, already mine,
I view with eyes of Faith diuine.

I slight vain things, and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace.

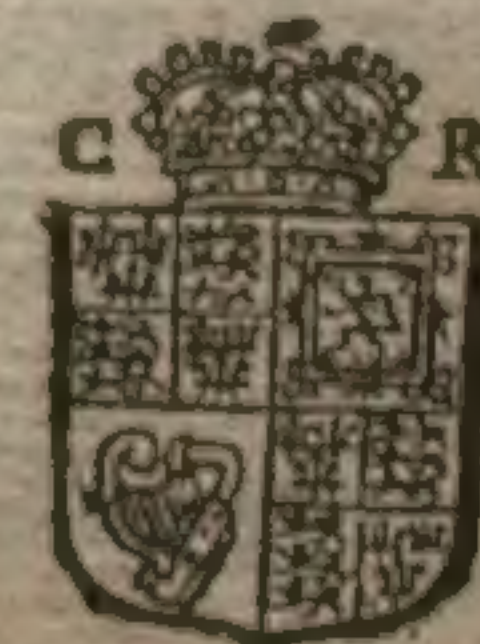
Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

THE
 POURTRAICTURE
 OF
 HIS SACRED
 MAJESTIE
 IN
 HIS SOLITUDES
 AND
 SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.



Reprinted
 In R. M. An. Dom. 1648.



The Explanation of the EMBLEM.

*Wonderous genus omne mali, febris, gravatur.
Vixit ferenda frow. Palma ut Depressas, 1969
Ac, velut undam Fluctu Ventis, furorcm
Dra. Peguli Rupes immota ripali
Clavos d tenebris, caelestis fella, corufco.
Viliter et atornion-felici face triumpho
Sunt Edgentem rutilo gemmifq; micantem.
At coris Amvidam spernendū calco Coronam
Spinofam, a ferri hcidom, gas Spes mea
Nacis. Nobis non est tradere mclitum
Aternam, fixis fultis, tempore-beatam
In Ceter oculis Specto, Nobisq; paratam.
Vanum est, frow, quod Christ Gratia facit
Nobis. Nobis Gloria morcos
To Xi dñi edixit rñ colla, dñi in Kānwox*

*Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise.
And as th' unmoved Rock, out-brave
The boisterous Windes and raging waves
So triumph I, And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darkest night
That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlesly I trample down
With joye I take this Crown of thorn,
Though sharp, yet easie to be born
That heav'nlic Crown, already mine,
I view with eyes of Faith divine
I right vain things, and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace*

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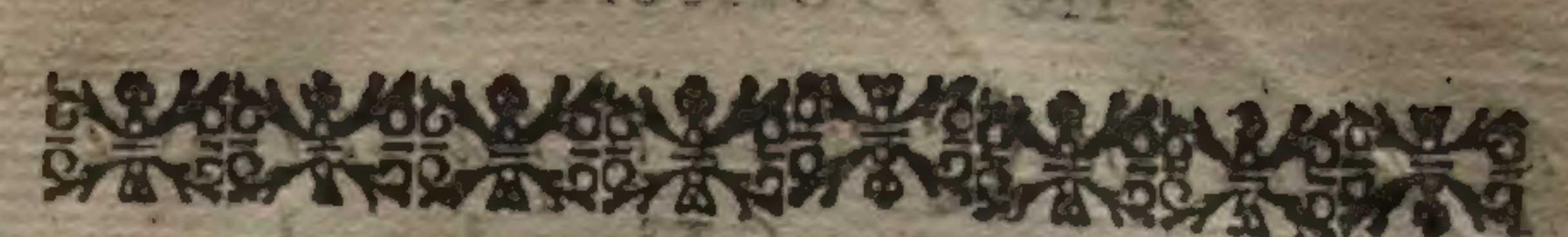
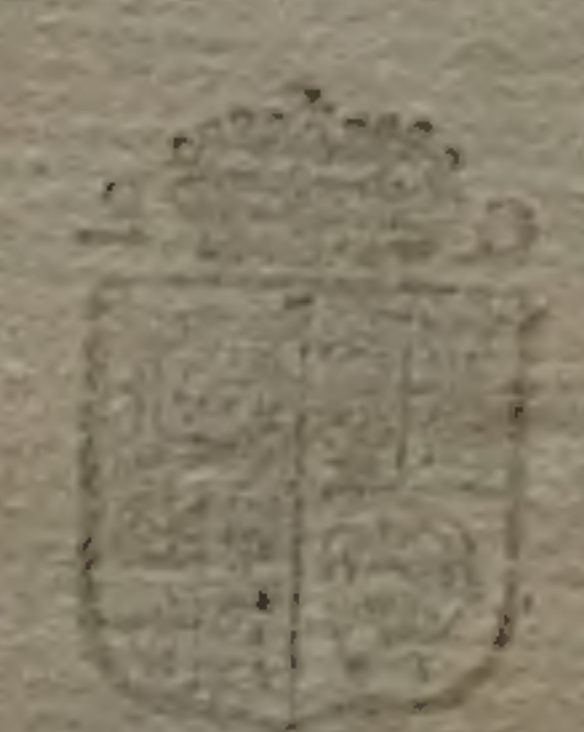
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THE
 REPORT
 OF THE
 SELECT COMMITTEE
 OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
 CONCERNING
 THE
 CONDUCT OF THE
 SECRETARY OF STATE
 IN
 THE
 YEAR 1701



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ΕΙΚΩΝ



ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Vpon His Majestie's calling this last Parliament,*

His last Parliament I called, not more by other's advice, and necessitie of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right waie of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which some men's distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet, resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with

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from passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of anie Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places; yet, hoping that the gravitie and discretion of other Gentlemen would allaye and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guideing som men's wel-meaning zeal by such Rules of Moderation as are best both to preserv and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My People's good, and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between Mee and My People.

All jealousies beeing laid aside, My own and My Children's Interests gave Mee manie obligations to seek and preserv the love and welfare of My Subjects; the onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safetie, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen My self in som things of My wonted Prerogative, since I knew I could bee no lo-

ser,

ser, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to anie modest and sober sens.

The *odium* and offences which som men's rigor or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice; but supplie what was defective in the constitution: No man haveing a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My self; whom it most concern's both in Pietie, and Policie, as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which makes religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amiss; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Mee was fit to bee desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgment to have been over-born in som things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had less betrayed

betrayed My self and My Kingdoms to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of God's Justice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Prosperitie.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which wee have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timelie repentance of our sins, thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies wee too late applie.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to Thy glorie, and My People's good.

The Miseries which have ensued upon Mee and My Kingdoms are the just effects of thy displeasure

sure upon us; and may bee yet (through thy mercie) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoye them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod, as well as thy staff, may comfort us: then shall wee dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father, when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becom's thy Children. I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Mee and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could bee with our sins.

O thou Sovereign Goodness and Wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels, over-rule also all our hearts, that the worst things wee suffer by thy Justice, the better wee may bee by thy Mercie.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poison, so let thy Grace turn our Poison into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappie War, so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though

(though a Sinner) for My Savior's sake, Amen.

2: Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death.

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to emploie him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence, of undertakings; and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good store, while mooving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must need's (as the Sun) raise manie envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to anie height and rigor of actions: yet I could never bee convinced of anie such criminalousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that
unfortunate

unfortunate Earl: when, between My own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessitie (as som told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of som people, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Mee well, to chuse rather what was *safe*, then what seemed *just*; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience with God.

And indeed I am so far from excuseing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailtie, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whose name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to save State-fores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor hath God's Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the
fallacie

fallacie of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased, or destroyed.*

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Mee, then I have don since I gratified som men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Mee to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiating with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they. Hee only hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Mee not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience: I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which, beeing in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Mee, are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercie hath sanctified so to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That the best rule of *Policie* is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My

My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Business.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, then anie man living could bee.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convinceing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that House. And for the House of Commons, manie Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford's* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by posting their Names) exposed to the popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would

would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning Partie, then satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

And that after-Ac vacateing the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, tell's the world, that som remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard measure, and such as they would bee verie loth should bee repeated to themselvs.

This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for haveing had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the color and formalitie of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs, which may (I hope) bee som evidence before God and Man, to all posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly that vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappie War, which som men will needs charge on Mee, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall bee, more afraid to take away anie man's life unjustly, then to lose mine own.

But thou O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man, since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him,

him, and by My Place should, at least so far, have been a Preserver of him, as to have denied My consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledg My transgression, and My sin is ever before Mee.

Deliver Mee from blood-guiltinesse O God, thou God of My salvation, and My tongue shall sing of thy Righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and don this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet cast Mee not away from thy Presence, purge Mee with the blood of My Redeemer, and I shall bee clean; wash Mee with that pretious effusion, and I shall bee whiter then Snow.

Teach Mee to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgments, and to see My frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded, by shedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles; thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Mee, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Mee to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrarie clamors, which are but discoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Mee, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer Mee for anie Reason of State, to go against My Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judg of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou see'st fit to deprive Mee of, yet restore unto Mee the joie of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Mee with thy free Spirit; who subject's My will to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shine's in My Soul: for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and My Savior's Blood, which speak's better things: O make Mee, and My People, to hear the voice of Joie and Gladness, that the bones, which thou hast broken, may rejoice in thy Salvation.

3. Upon His Majestie's going to the House of Commons.

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears; yea, and manie of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then from Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought
My

My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those men's persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under som men's own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God know's was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie; or els to have cleared their Innocencie, and removed My suspicion: which, as they were not raised out of anie malice, so neither were they in Reason to bee smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark
B 2 (though

though I sought by all speedie and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is so fall, that, as God best know's, I had no such intent: so none that attended could justly gather from anie thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of anie such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majestie and safetie of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more scared at My comming, then I was un-assured of not having some affronts cast upon Mee; if I had none with Mee to preserve a reverence to Mee; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Mee, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that Business was this:

Those men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My self, and worthier of their protection.

protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no present impunitie, or popular vindications of them will bee subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, wee must religiously appeal, as beeing an argument to us Christians of that after-un-avoidable judgment, which shall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activitie (if not restrained) and so now hath don to the undoing of manie thousands; the more is the pittie:

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Autoritie by anie violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repul with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My witness in Heaven, and in My heart: If I have purposed anie violence or oppression against the Innocent: or

if there were anie such wickedness in My thoughts.
Then let the Enemie persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that see'st not as man see'th, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of My sin, in that matter, more then their Impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their Innocencie.

But forgive them wherein they have don amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnes of My heart, and the innocencie of My hands in this matter.

Plead My caus, and maintain My right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

I Never thought anie thing (except our sins) more ominously presageing all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after

ter the Convening of this Parliament, which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet want's not it's terror) but like an Earthquake, shakeing the verie foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power set's bounds to the rageing of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation, then when hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar, to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autoritie.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menaceing, reproaching, shakeing, yea, and assaulting som Members of both Houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shakeing, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, alwaies encreasing to higher inflammation, impatient of anie mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a Guard against those fears which som men scared themselves and

others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee feared and less to bee used by wise men then those tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debateing matters with reason and candor) must bee taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleas to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacie of men, resolved to discharge their Consciences, must bee subdued; by these all factions, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwiferie of those Tumults: whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not staie the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateness befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most fancied.

Yea,

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their out-rages, that no sober man could bee without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by som, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anie thing hee most desired, for the Publick good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But men's passions and God's directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suteable engines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to God's means. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, som men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to bee used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage, when strong windes blow upon it; so, neither for multitudes to becom insolent, when they have Men of som reputation for parts and pietie to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, That manie Complaints bee-
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ing made, and Messages sent by My self and som of both Houses; yet no order for redress could bee obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-spread diseas, and predominant mischief.

Such was som men's stupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience: Other's petulancie, that they joied to see their Betters shamefully out-raged and abused, while they knew their onely securitie consisted in vulgar flatterie: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safetie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie order bee obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known *Boute-fens*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults, as their advantages served.

Yea, som (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who goe's about seeking whom hee may deceiv, and devour.

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My self could take place for

for the due suppression of these Tumults; and secureing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Persons in the streets; I thought My self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts: I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining som degrees of modestie and sober sens.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie for anie man for popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threaten's imminent danger, but to with-draw, give's it space to spend it's furie, and gaine's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight, to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Som suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Person, and Conscience from violence) God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would by so manie former, and som after-Acts, have so much weakned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which

which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so manie particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for with-drawing our selvs from the dailie baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws? God, who is My sole Judg, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from My House at *White-hall*, if I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majestie of My Place and Person, the safetie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capeable of their rudeness and petulance.

But this business of the Tumults (whereof som have given already an account to God, others yet liveing know themselves desperately guiltie) Time and the guilt of manie hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leav it, as it is; onely, I believ the just Avenger of all disorders will in time make those men, and that Cittie see their sin
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in the glasse of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-laie that they may one daie see themselvs punished by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses beeing left to their freedom of Voteing, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations; so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone somtimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have don) the sad consequences in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in anie place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who order's our disorders, and magnifie's his wisdom

most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon mee, and are readie to overwhelm mee.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations, which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the drie land to appear, and after didst assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power, rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver mee from the rudeness and striveings of the multitude.

Restore, wee beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of our Councils and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Christians, so shall wee praise thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest

knowest guiltie of raising, or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter bee their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed, and to our schisms by Charitie, that wee may bee, as thy Jerusalem, a Citie at unitie in it self.

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

5. Upon His Majestie's passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the Happie success of this Parliament, (which had in mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent anie distempers from getting anie head of prevailing; especially, if the remedie proved not a disease beyond all remedie.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work

work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagin that som men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well don to their hands. Such is som men's activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scantie to satisfie som men's fears, and compass Publick Affairs. I was perswaded to grant that *Bill* of Sitting dureing the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted, in som men's sens, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes. I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as som men have now requited Mee.

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predecessors, yet cannot in reason admit of anie worst interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to denie My self in so high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should bee worst by
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My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if som men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My interest lie's more then anie man's, since by those Laws, My Rights, as a KING, would bee preserved no less then my Subject's; which is all I desired. More then the Law giv's mee I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented mee of that settling *Act*: and manie would needs perswade mee, I had caus'd so to do: but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the less I should have, and enjoie with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Mee with increas of it; when Men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice: that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princelie then friendlie contri-
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butions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now only miserable in this, That some men's ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honor and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a persuasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictness.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withall, as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subject's miseries, while (as they confidently, but (God know's) falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavored by force and open hostility to undo what by My Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a verie short sight of things, and extream fatuitie of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God know's, though

though I had then a sense of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike waie upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of people, that I could not have given My Enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then, by so unprincipled Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's, I longed for nothing more then that My self, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sin, as well as of hazard, and dishonor for Me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which

I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnes of My own heart, in passing that great *Bill*, which exceeded the verie thoughts of former times; That although I may seem a less Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I anie reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast mee down head-long; concluding, that without a Miracle, Monarchie it self, together with mee, could not but bee dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them see at length, That as manie Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could bee at once enjoied by them) are not worth the gaining, by the waies of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a soul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved mee, and made mee to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do

do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot saie properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorrie other men's eyes should bee evil, because Mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts.

Thou gavest mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will bee done, though never so much to the crossing of our's, even when wee hope to do what might bee most conformable to thine and their's too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach mee wisely to enjoie as well the frustrateings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay other's fears, I have raised Mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled My Self.

Thus have they requited mee evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, bee thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admit's My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My makeing anie other, with that safetie and honor which I designed.

'Tis easie for thee to keep Mee safe in the love and confidence of My People; nor is it hard for thee to preserv Mee amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too manie, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuse My Acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favors from Mee can make others more guiltie then My self may bee, of mis-using those manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Mee.

I beseech thee, give Mee and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as wee may not abuse.

Make Mee so far happie, as to make a right use of other's abuses; and by their failings of Mee, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other men's sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may bee happie to enjoie the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to bee the most glorious Saints.

6. Upon

6. Upon His Majestie's retirement from Westminster.

With what willingness I with-drew from Westminster let them judg, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinkeing on a Lee-shore.

I staid at White-hall, till I was driv'n away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leav either My self, or the Members of Parliament, the libertie of our Reason and Conscience to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the major part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by a Law or reason conclusive to My Judgment: nor can they include, or carrie with them My consent, whom they represent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with

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the Vores of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I see that as manie men they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes; how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so manie Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; If som men's Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcom; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it cease's to bee Counsel; when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. Hee deserv's to bee a slave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Soveraigntie of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becaus it belong's to Mee as a Man,

a Man, and a Christian; owning the Estates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obliging Mee to consent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by anie Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament* shall require, as som men will needs infer; while, denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Mee of the libertie of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoie proportionable to their influence on the Publick; who would take it verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My self, as King, or the House of Peers with Mee, should not so much desire, as enjoin them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People, with the House of Peers, have chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously

scientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion, bid's Mee denie.

Yet so tender I see som men are of their beeing subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of another's will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurditie they make the King the onely man that must bee subject to the will of others, without haveing power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by anie Representation.

And if My dissentings at anie time were (as som have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacie in Mee (which not true Judgment of things, but som vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badg and Method of Slaverie, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serv those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavor's to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follow's

follow's what hee take's for Reason: The uprightnes of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argue's rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightnes of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates propounded to Mee by the two Houses, further then I thought, in good reason, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever pleas Mee more, then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in manie things where not absolute and moral necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience in point of Honor was to bee considered, I chose rather to denie My self, then them: as preferring that which they thought necessarie for My People's good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can bee content to recede much from

from My own Interests and Personal Rights, of which I conceiv My self to bee Master; but in what concern's Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preserv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fixt and resolute, nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in stead of Reason and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the interest of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wils and Passions.

I know no resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O My God, preserv thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believe is thy will that wee should maintain: who, though

though thou do'st justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine, whose Wisdom and Goodness can neither err, nor misguid us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to thy Sacred Mysteries and Commands, that wee should believe and obeie, rather then dispute them; yet do'st thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do anie thing for thee, against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoine'st us to trie all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgments approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set Mee, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call Mee.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content, for their good, to denie My self in what thou hast subjected to My disposal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of some men's immoderate demands ever betraye Mee to that degenerate & unmanly slavery, which should make Mee strengthen them by My consent in those things which, I think in My Conscience, to bee against thy glorie, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make Mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities

nitie and injuries they press upon Mee, rather then commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of My People bee (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal waies, without the slaverie of My soul.

Thou that hast invested Mee by thy favors in the power of a Christian King, suffer Mee not to subject My Reason to other men's passions and designs, which to Mee seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serv thee in the truth and uprightness of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I bee driv'n from among them, yet give Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Justice; for these, I know, will bring Mee at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviour's sake.

7. Upon the Queen's departure and absence out of England.

Although I have much cause to bee troubled at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not her absence so much, as the scandal of that necessitie,

necessitie, which drive's Her away, doth afflict Mee. That Shee should bee compelled by My own subjects, and those pretending to bee Protestants, to withdraw for Her safetie: This beeing the first example of anie Protestant-Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: for I look upon this now don in England, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I pray, hee would in time take away; and not suffer these practices to bee anie obstruction to Her judgment; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to bee imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am sorrie My relation to so deserving a Ladie should bee anie occasion of Her danger and affliction: whose merits would have served Her for a protection among the sa-
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vage *Indians*; while their rudeness and barbaritie know's not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some men's subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault, is that Shee is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection command's Meeto studie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to bee tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrack't, so as Shee may bee in a safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enioie by Her safetie in the mid'st of My Personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved: In whose memorie and hopeful Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should bee satiated with My blood.

I must leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries don to Them, by those, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Law chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: Nor can it bee safe (for anie relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shakeing hands with

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pittie so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathie with Mee in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindness of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who haveing eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have Scornfully lift up themselvs against Us; and those of our own Household are becom Our enemies. I praie God laie not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can less indure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policie of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: lest by the influence of Her

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example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, shee should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The les I may bee blest with her companie, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoiment of her virtues, while I enioie my self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercie, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it bee thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserv us from the hands of our despiteful and deadlie enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though wee differ in som things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace everie Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou would'st have us to know, in order to thy glorie, our publick relations, and our soul's eternal good, and make us careful to do what good wee know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be known

known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what wee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Mee, bee anie hinderance to her love of anie Truth thou would'st have her to learn, nor anie hardning of her in anie error thou would'st have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other men's constancie bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, bee represented to her Judgmet, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceableness; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Noveltie, Crueltie, and Disloyaltie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and savinge Truthes, as Thine; that shee may believe, love and obeie them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holie duties, which most agree with his holie doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie, and greatness

in Our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make Us both so much the more ambitious to bee invested in those durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

8. Upon his Majestie's repulſ at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.

MY repulſ at Hull seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyaltie, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Effaie to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loss of My Kingdoms.

God know's, it affected Mee more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee so much as their sin, which admitted no color or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I fore-saw they could hardly contain themselvs within the compass of this unworthie act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to over-spread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwaies bee seconded with worſ; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of som men; whole words were sometime smother then oil, but now I saw they would proov verie Swords.

Against which, I haveing (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or saie anie thing unbeseeming My self, or unsuteable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becom's a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth

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to

to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excess injure's a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observ how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My caus, in the eie of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with som remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroak and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unrepurchased, unthreatned, uncursed by anie language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their disloyaltie, to those men, from whom surely heemight have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercie enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For Apostacie unto Loy-
altie

altie som men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitarie vengeance serv the turn; the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must bee involved in the punishment, as hee was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrie: Root and Branch God cut's off in one daie.

These observations are obvious to everie fancie: God know's I was so far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, beeing executed by them who first employed him against Mee) that I so far pittied him as I thought hee at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope other men do in the same Caus.

For hee was never thought to bee of that superstitious sowness, which som men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darken's their judgment that they cannot see anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another

other temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which make's Mee more pittie him, is, that, after hee began to have som inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee should bee so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought to paie to those that crave it, when wee have caus to believ they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for his mercie but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, hee is now becom a notable monument of unprosperous Disloyaltie; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it; and those oft proov the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*, though

though 'tis certain that no punishment so stain's a man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a waie avenged thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie secret pleasure in it; as his death hath satisfied the injurie hee did to Meo, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without anie desire or endeavor of Mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to com down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded My Caus, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast don it.

I do not, I dare not saie, So let Mine enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it bee thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie; yea, let them live and amend

amend who have most offended Mee in so high nature; that I may have those to forgive, who be most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majestie, which, I hope, thy mercie has forgiv'n Mee.

Lord laie not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conscience for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment: one, bee a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin; who know they have don amiss; and scare them from this sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That, preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie and truth, meeting together; let My Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear My praier, O Lord, who hast taught us to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hath prevented us with offer-tures of thy love, even when wee were thine enemies; and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when wee were disposed to crucifie him.

9. Upon

9. Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the KING.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Mee to leave White Hall: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may bee conquered.

And so I easily may, as to anie outward strength, which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror; if God will give Mee such a measure of Constancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

And must I bee opposed with force, becaus they have not reason wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; they confesse their known weakness, as to truth and Justice, who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receiv for those manie Acts of Grace I have lately passed; and for those manie Indignities

ties I have endured? Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious KING, but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that love's his People, and desire's their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War, in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? Notwithstanding som miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of som men driveing on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envy-ing the publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie, I hope, of My self, either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood dureing My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousness? What Widow's or Orphan's tears can witness against Mee, the just crie of which must now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of Persons.

In

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so manie hands are armed against Mee with Swords.

God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Mee; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which (to manie men) seem's rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causes of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Priviledg.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however som men are not willing to beleev Mee, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first with-drew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allaiie the insolencie of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which no account in Reason can be giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted but onely to oppress both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of Declareing and Voteing according to everie man's Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that

that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another ?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of *Parliament* ?

That som men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threatened to bee their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserv themselves. If anie others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not com to the Houses, or not declare their sens with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to a- nie reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could bee heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houses, had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the waie open for all the Members quietly to com and declare their Consciences, I know no man so dear to Mee, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing, upon their Summons; to whose Sentence according

ding to Law (I think) everie Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timelie repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approov their generous constancie and cautiousness; further then this I did never allow anie man's refractoriness against the Priviledges & Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safetie, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, som men, and those not manie, despairing in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to bee of contrarie mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the Bishops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for

for them by far the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the *Bill* against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Clamors, and schismatical Terrors; which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbid's Mee by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazard My Own, and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition think's or pretend's, they cannot do God and the Church no greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and antiently Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other men's Judgments binde them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the abolishing of, Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My Judgement, have also a most strict and indispen-

fable

sable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater miserie, then anie hath, or can befall Mee; inasmuch as the least sin hath more evil in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopal Faction at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues to the furie of their Covetousness, Ambition, and Revenge, I believ they would then have found no colorable necessitie of raising an Armie to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the *Bill* of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honor, for My sake, and the Commonwealth's; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) anie dangers to Mee, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My Consent to the total Extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think

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Religious

Religious and Apostolical (and so verie Sacred and Divine) as not to bee dispensed with, or destroyed; when what is onely of civil Favor, and Priviledg of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, bee annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to bee in point of Justice and Auctoritie of Parliament; when, I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War; being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Own and other men's Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or other's with-drawing from, or defence against violence; but those could not bee the first occasion of raising an Armie against Mee. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often) that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Mee with all the envie and injuries of first assaulting them, when as, God know's, I had not so much as anie hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and effectually repressed by exemplarie Justice, and the Libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members

Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becomming such a Senate, have com'n & discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My with-drawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessitie driveing, the other My choice desireing.

But som men knew I was like to bring the same judgment and constancie, which I carried with Mee, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Mee to com, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but bee pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My self, and so manie of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reason and Honor, they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Armie, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Armie against Mee, is by

the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For, when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appeal them, there was nothing of consequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as anie original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall; and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded, were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a War, or easily granted by Mee, and onely to make up a number; or else they were merely consequential, and accessarie, after the war was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, whom the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equalitie and clearness of judgment might bee obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Armie, with this design; either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God know's) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the cie of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfor-

tunate

tunate successes of this War on My side, I do not think My Innocencie anie whit prejudiced, or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Praier to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgment.

O My God, the proud are risen against Mee, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after My soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and they hate Mee with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then anie, and could gain least of anie by it.

Thou, O Lord, art My witness, how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessitie thereof, wherein I cannot well bee thought so prodigally thirstie of My Subject's blood, as to venture My own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroye My People.

E 3

O Lord

O Lord, I need much of thy Grace, with patience to bear the manie afflictions thou hast suffered from men to bring upon Mee; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who, not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or giu'n just Cause to raise it.

The Confidence of some men's fals Tongues is such, that they would almost make Mee suspect My own Innocencie: Yea, I could bee content (at least by My silence) to take upon Mee so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miserable War, since thou, O Lord, knowest My Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; manie of whom have not liued out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the People that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of Mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroye My Person, or force My Judgement,

ment, and to make Mee renegge My Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driv'n to cross David's choice and desire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their Mercies bee cruel) then into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire: Better they destroye Mee, then thou should'st damn Mee.

Bee thou ever the defens of My Soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or thy Temporal Justice, I am content, if it bee thy will, that it bee shed by Mine own Subject's hands.

But, O let the blood of Mee, though their King, yet a sinner, bee washed with the blood of My Innocent and Peace-making Redeemer; for in that thy Justice will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal-plenary satisfaction; both for My sins, and the sins of My People: whom I beseech thee still own for thine; and, when thy wrath is appeased by My Death, O Remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O My Father, for they know not what they do.

10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and Militia.*

How untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Armie and beginning this Civil war, the eies, that onely pittie Mee, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely praie for Mee at first, might witness, which yet appear not so manie on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Mee; My unpreparedness for a war may well dishearten those that would help Mee; while it argues (truly) My unwillingness to fight; yet it testifies for Mee; that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their preemption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Mee, and surprizals of My strength. Such as are not for Them; yet dare not bee for Mee; so over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the other's numbers and terrors. I believ My Innocencie, and unpreparedness to assert My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more guiltie in their esteem; who would not
so

so easily have declared a War against Mee; if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me, were those onely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Praiers and Tears. These may serve a good man's turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the Militia, is so far best for Mee, That it may drive Mee from putting anie trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the liveing God; who can save by few, or none, as well as by manie.

Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee Elias's Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprizal of outward force, and defense, an opportunitie to shew Mee the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia so much in reference to My own protections as My People's.

Their manie and fore oppressions grieve Mee; I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Praier.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolv their riddle of
Making

Makeing Mee a glorious King, by takeing away My Kinglie power: Thus I shall become a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, so, without anie realitie of power, or without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a Magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aerie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believ the surfeit of too much Power, which som men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcome Mine enemies; to gain the Peace of all, by depriving My self of a sole power to help, or hurt anie: yeelding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to be disposed of as the
two

two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to be safer then I wish them and My People: If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those men's violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to be trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Mee, and employed against Mee and them, that neither can be safe if both be not in such a waie, as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to som men, which seem to be Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enioie it's just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to
which

which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Mee to yeild to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no less then Justice and Honor) should have forbid them to have asked of Mee.

For, although I can bee content to Eclipse My own beams to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs bee scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kinglie Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Mee; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Posteritie; and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never bee prejudiced or obstructed by anie Act of Mine; which indeed would not bee more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leav in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to bee ever subjected to those manie factious distractions, which must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee; so they will finde, it hath more mouths, too, which must bee satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrous

strositie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where counsel may bee in manie as the senses, but the Supreme Power can bee but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that bodie, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefeft light from Mee) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Rights in the Power of the *Militia* to com short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My People's protection; I conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel Mee to take this new and strange waie of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil war and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good

good conscience) doth more invite Mee, then can bee expected from other men's fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successful) yet dare not adventure their Autors upon anie other waie of safetie, then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defenses against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of men's own Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to take from Mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whose protection is sufficient for Mee; and hee is able, by his being with Mee, abundantly to compensate to Mee, as hee did to Job, whatever honor, power, or libertie the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devil himself can deprive Mee of.

Although they take from Mee all defense of Arms and Militia; all refuge, by Land, or Forts, and Castles; all flight, by Sea, in My Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob Mee of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Mee of My own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor obstruct My waie to Heaven.

Therefore

Therefore, O My God, to thee I flie for help; if thou wilt bee on My side, I shall have more with Mee then can bee against Mee.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the loss of all, bee thou more then all to Mee: Make haste to succour Mee, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou see'st I have no power to oppose them that com against Mee, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Mee: But My eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help; nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in My safetie and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to bee reduced to what thou wilt have Mee; whose Judgments oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that thou maist bee all.

Thou hast taught Mee, That no King can bee saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save Mee by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Mee, O Lord, who am sore distressed on everie side; yet bee thou on My side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto Mee.

I will give thy Justice the glorie of My Distress.

O Let

O Let thy mercie have the glorie of My deliverance from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justly maist thou by My own subjects strip mee of My strength, and eclips My glorie.

But shew thy self, O My hope, and onelie refuge! Let not Mine enemies saie, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My footsteps slip not.

Keep mee as the apple of thine eye, hide mee under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindness, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them;

From the wicked that oppress mee, from My deadly enemies that compass mee about.

Shew mee the path of life. In thy presence is fullness of joie; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.

ALTHOUGH there bee manie things, they demand; yet, if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and

and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honor. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to bee as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish mee.

Som things here propounded to mee, have been offered by mee; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to bee obtruded upon mee, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are manie things required of mee, but I see nothing offer'd to mee, by the waie of grateful exchange of Honor; or anie requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do mee, to put mee on the giving part, which is more Princelie and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserv to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not bee forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Som things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to mee, and while I have anie Masterie of My reason, how can they

they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by God's grace) dearer to Me than My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to bind My self to a general and implicit consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man; nor fit to be required of any man, much less of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented

ted; not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal waie of Petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior think fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason to Consent, or Dissent; else it were verie foolish and absurd to ask, what another, having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honor, as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extreme injurie to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask: whose minds may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making

king Mee their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to bee necessarie impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seek's to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Mee trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations som have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to bee their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so dissident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie men's dictates, and at once to betraie the Sovereigntie of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own Crown to anie of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this; how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience

rience of one seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from Mee, I should bee verie foolish indeed, and unfaithful in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehú's*; and whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of *Phaëton* then of *Phæbus*: God divert the *Omen*, if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to bee My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extend's to recommend their advice, not to command My Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or som evil customs preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or som injuries don by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to bee repaired; or som equable offer-tures were to bee tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, beeing considered by them, might fairly induce Mee

Mee to condescend, to what tended to My Subject's good, without anie great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde Mee (in the first place) to preserv: without which 'tis impossible to preserv My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserv the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without anie regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet anie thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must bee destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the other's Institution, and also supplie its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men; not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptness and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing

thing of anie Laws dis-jointed, which are to bee restored; of anie right invaded; of anie justice to bee un-obstructed; of anie compensations to bee made; of anie impartial Reformation to bee granted; to all, or anie of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or anie other humane motives might induce Mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great novelty, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanitie, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible novelty of som Propositions (there beeing nothing so monstrous, which som fancies are not prone to long for.)

This cast's Me into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the

fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free and full: so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mis-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrarie) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to the Pietie of their reforming Progenitors; to the Prosperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is guilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment to bee drawn into the common
sewer

sewer or stream of the present vogue and humor; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamors and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite Activitie of those men, who studied, with all diligence and policie, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever bee back't and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person; yet the first shall never overcome Mee, further then I see cause: for I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their liverie, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults; (which can bee no other, then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factions, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Mee, that the Propositions sent to Mee were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a

right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with everie one of them.

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them; and humilitie to think, that, as in som things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completeness and inerrabilitie as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that Part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserv, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is necessarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth anie one complete and autoritative Act of Publick-wisdom, which make's the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of som Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them favor verie strong of that old leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation; which, in My two last famous Predecessor's daies, heaved at, and sometimes threat'ned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie

tie and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likelie so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choise of manie Members was carried by much faction in the Countries, som thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of whatever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bid's Mee impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the manie-headed, and manie-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honor, and Safetie both of Church and State command Mee, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitness of My Conscience will not give Mee leav to swallow down such Camels of Sacriledg and Injustice both to God and man, as others do; they have no more caus to quarrel with Mee, then for this, that My throat is not so wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am resolved, That nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to contradict, or Vanitie to shew My Negative power, shall have

have anie bias upon My judgment, to mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thing which My Reason and Conscience command's mee not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent more then Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion perswade mee, to bee for God's glory, the Church's good, My People's welfare, and My own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament and My People; but I will never, for fear, or other cause, gratifie anie Faction, how potent ever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppress the bodie.

Although manie men's loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving mee free and faithful counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; none can hinder mee from craving of counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotencie, furnish thy servant, first, with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason and Justice, in My understanding: then so confirm My will and resolution to adhere to them, that I may not be terrified by the terrors, injuries, or oppressions of My Enemies, nor may ever enforce mee against those rules, which

thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest mee a King, that I should be less then a man; and not dare to saie, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason and libertie of speech.

Shall that bee blameable in mee, which is commendable veracitie and constancie in others?

Thou see'st, O Lord, with what partialitie and injustice they denie that freedom to mee their KING, which thou hast giv'n to all Men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who can'st guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's proposals; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might bee more entangled in those difficulties, where with they lie in wait to afflict mee.

O Lord, make thy waie plain before mee.

Let not My own sinful passions cloud or divert my sacred suggestions:

Let thy glorie bee My end, thy word My rule, and when thy will be done.

I cannot pleas all, I care not to pleas some men; if I may bee happie to pleas thee, I need not fear whom I displeas.

Thou

Thou that makest the wisdom of the foolishness, and takest in their own devices as are wise in their own conceits, make Mee by thy truth, for thy honor, My Kingdoms general good, and My own soul's salvation, and I not much regard the world's opinion or diminution of Mee.

The less wisdom they are willing to impart Mee, the more they shall bee convinced of thy wisdom directing Mee, while I denie nothing shall bee granted, out of crossness or humor; nor anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie, willing or inconsiderate advancing anie men's signs, which are injurious to the publick; while I confirm them by My consent.

Nor let Mee bee anie occasion to hinder or fraud the publick of what is best; by anie men or pervers dissentings.

Make Mee so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to bee for public good; of whose affections to Mee I have yet but evidences to assure Mee.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as fraudulent counsels.

Since wee must give an account of everie word and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Let me make Mee careful of those solemn Declarations My minde, which are like to have the great influence

influence upon the Publick, either for wo, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make Mee the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine own, and My people's pressures are grievous, and peace would bee verie pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Mee to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expens or waste of My Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then My self.

12. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in Ireland were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown anie man in eternal both infamie and miserie, whom God shall finde the malicious Autor or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to some men's malice against Mee; that when they had impudence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this bloodie opportunitie should bee offered them, with which I must bee asspersed: Although there was nothing which

which could bee more abhorred to Mee, being so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Som men took it verie ill not to bee believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was don with My privitie (at least,) if not by My Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for som of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commission, but against My Command and Person too; yet all the while pretend, they fight by My Autoritie, and for My Safetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledg for their imitation against those whose blame must needs bee the greater, but how much Protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, than those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of men's intentions excuse the scandal and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward Mee, I must bear the blame; this Honor My Enemies have alwaies don Mee, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Mee, nor competent trials, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; Charging

Charging Mee not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reason, and Religion, having least caus to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might bee represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like som Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serv to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare My interest lies as much as som men's doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor so cunningly as in laying the *Odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wise men, that the preposterous rigor and unreasonable severitie, which som men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*, where, despair beeing added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough

to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by som Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of libertie; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after-rigors, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threat'ned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of som men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God know's, as I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing els, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissensions and Jealousies, which in *England* som men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with *Ireland's* sad estate then My self: I offered to go My self in Person upon that expedition; But som men were either afraid

I should

I should have anie one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to shoot at anie mark here less then My self; or that anie should have the glorie of My destruction, but themselves. Had My manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruine had been so great, nor the calamitie so long; nor the remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, their's must needs bee, who either hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Domestick dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threat'ning all extremities, not onely to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch; men, women, and children, without anie regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerers, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their

their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Citties, for the repulf or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob's* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed, chusing rather to use all extremities which might drive men to desperate obstinacie, than to applie moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplarie Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of Mercie upon their submission, and our protection of them from the furie of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kinde of zeal counts all mercie moderation, luke-warmness; and had rather beee cruel, then counted cold; and is not seldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for anie harm hee hath don. The confiscation of men's Estates beeing more beneficial, then the charitie of saving their Lives or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred and over-borne with numbers of now-desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here, I was earnestly entreated and generally advised, by the chief of the Protestant partie there, to get them some respite and breathing by a Cessation; without which they saw no probabilitie (unless by miracle) to pre-

serv the remnant that had yet escaped: God know's, with how much Commiseration and solicitous Caution I carried on that business, by Persons of Honor and Integrity; that so I might neither encourage the Rebel's insolencie, nor discourage the Protestant's Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My Reputation and Honor; because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not beee so much to the Rebel's advantages (which some have highly calumniated against mee) as it might have been for the Protestant's future, as well as present safetie; if, during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have lai'd *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and lai'd aside those violent motions which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what is false and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good)

as I have no Judg but God above Mee, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore denie My Innocence, becaus he is pleased so far to try My patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of som men's mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do out of a furnace. Much less to make such prolix Apologies, which might give those men satisfaction: who, conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believ anie man not to bee as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly saie. And I hope, I shall still do better then they desire, or deserv I should.

I believ it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil My other Kingdoms are in great part guiltie; if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timelie stopping those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.

Which (whatever My enemies pleas to say or think) I look upon, as that of My other King

Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins; no man beeing so much weak'ned by it, as My self: And, I hope, though men's unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length saie to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Warrs to sheath it self: His merciful justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserv should bee restored.

Thou see'st how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the color of Religion; as if wee could not bee Christians, unless wee crucifie one another.

Beccaus we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charitie; thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein wee have sinned; and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance bee our recoverie; as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries, I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented

sent in the glass of thy judgments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies, pardon our sins, and remoov thy Judgments which are verie manie and verie heavie.

Yet let our sins bee ever more grievous to us, then thy Judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to bee relieved: first give us the Peace of penitent consciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sins; and through this red sea of our own blood, bring us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As My publick relations to all make Mee share in all My Subject's sufferings; so give Mee such a pious sens of them, as becom's a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Mee bee as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give Mee grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted My three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved:

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them

them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice bee against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Malitious; Thou that had'st pittie on Nineveh for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness make's them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore justly cursed.

Preserv, if it bee thy will, in the mid'st of the furnace of thy severe Justice a Posteritie which may praise thee for thy Mercie;

And deal with Mee, not according to man's unjust reproaches, but according to the innocencie of My hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloodie distractions; then let thy hand bee against Mee, and My Father's hous. O Lord, thou see'st I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on Mee and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust

trust not to My own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Comming.*

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereigntie, and Bountie, with My Father of blessed memorie; but also special and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed, to manie, to prefer the desires of that Partie, before My own interest and Honor. But I see, Royall bountie embolden's som men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie, and Act of Pacification forbid's Mee to reflect on former passages: wherein I shall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconstancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the publick good: I praie God it may so proov.

The comming again of that Partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselvs.

Other

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloodie Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leav to their Consciences to judg, who have already felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosness of grain beeing objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they crie up, as the onely just reformation and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and, was by them imagined would have don in *England*, when so manie of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterianie.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anie forrein State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselvs have used, rather successfully

fully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know anie such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications, than those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scot's* pattern before ever they could be heard what they could saie for themselves, or against the other's waie.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other men's Consciences too, who can receiv little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Soldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those truths gain most on men's Judgments and Consciences,

ences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weaken's Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to bee used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn men's obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so manie learned and pious Church-men in *England*, who, beeing alwaies bred up & conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becauf that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force assist alike Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie; or destroye them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were proved to bee the onelie institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches-Government; yet I believ it would bee hard to proov, that Christ had given those *Scots*, or anie other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in anie of my Kingdoms, without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paid to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; but, that hee, or they ever commanded

manded to set up such a paritie of Presbyterie and in such a waie as those *Scots* endeavor, think is not verie disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie bee institution of Christ, sure it differ's from others; and is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion run's in a stream so contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianitie and Episcopacie, which was with patient shedding of their own blood; not violently drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never anie thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Armie or Commissioners to moov mee with, by their manie Solemn obtestations and pious threatenings, but onely this; to represent to mee the wonderful necessitie of setting up their Presbyterie in *England* to avoid the further miseries of a War; which som men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinder's that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but number, strength and

and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbyterie seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and still most Universal waie of the Church-government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to bee for mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their Knapfacks.

But wee must leav the success of all to God, who hath manie waies (having first taken us off from the follie of our opinions, and furie of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to God's glorie, and his Church's good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend with the most judicious Zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may anie men, I think, without sin and pre-

presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other men's Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle My Religion; nor any man's elf, who know's what Religion mean's, and how far it is remooved from all Faction, whose proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they laie out upon their opinions; especially those that have som temptation or gain to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armie's comming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so manie obligations of dutie and gratitude to Mee, then I wondered how those here could so much distrust God's assistance; who so much pretended God's Cause to the People, as if they had the certaintie of som divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished

with my Subject's Arms and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea; My Forts, Castles, and Citties by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carrie their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancie that attend's all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom som of them one while earnestly invite to com in to their assistance, others of them soon after are wearie of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one Partie thought to river to a settledness by the strength and influence of the Scots, that the other reject's and contemn's; at once, despising the Kirk-Government and Discipline of the Scots, and frustrating the success of so chargeable more then charitable assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happiness of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advise in a full and free Synod, which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters beeing impartially settled,

might bee more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's follie will at length bee discovered; through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruines of Loyaltie. Nor can those confederations or designs bee durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretens of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Mee, so I cannot think that the most are gon so far from Mee, in a Prodigalitie of their love & respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Mee, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to anie Partie of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor for their own advantages: However, the less caus I have to trust to men, the more I shall applie Myself to God.

The troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Mee out of My distress.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policie.

Deliver

Deliver Mee from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Dove's Innocencie.

Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, can'st turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou did'st the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancie and eagerness pursue Him.

Preserv the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Mee, and I shall not despair of my Subject's affections returning towards Mee.

Thou can'st soon caus the over-flowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Mee not bee ashamed, let not My enemies triumph over mee.

Let them bee ashamed who transgress without a cause; let them bee turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integritie and uprightness preserv Mee, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

H 2

Upon

14. Upon the Covenant.

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to bee hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with som other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by so solemn a charm and exorcism bee cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island; and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostle's times, till this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it: Presbyterie, like a young Heir, think's the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to bee in the Bishop's Chair & Autoritie (though Lay-men go awaie with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with manie passages

pages in that Covenant (som referring to My self with verie dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessitie; but verie disputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment, and certaintie in one's self, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion; as I think Religion require's, which never refuse's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessarie duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Protestation, which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they account Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have lai'd snares & gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for, by such politick and seemingly-pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacie fast to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My consent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolv or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all My Subject's consciences both to God and Mee.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Mee, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies, since I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in such men's intentions, was, to preserv Religion in Puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have anie true touches of Conscience endeavour to carrie on the best designs, (much less such as are, and will bee daily

daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believ and hope, That manie, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which make's such Confederations by waie of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to bee suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more studied and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws; which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to complie with the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holie Combinations.

Which cords and withs will hold men's

Consciences no longer, then force attend's and twist's them: for everie man soon grow's his own Pope, and easily absolv's himself of those ties, which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtiltie and terror of a Partie cast's upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they finde the imposers really aiming to dissolv, or suspend their former, just, and necessarie obligation.

Indeed, such illegal waies seldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie man's palat and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit anie men's senses of it, though divers, or contrarie; with anie salvo's, cautions and reservations; so as they cross not the Chief Design which is laid against the Church, and Mee.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encreas to their Partie; so little men remember that God is not mocked.

In

In such latitudes of sens, I believ manie that love Mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all pietie & loyaltie: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for anie value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of som general Clauses may (perhaps) serv somewhat to relieve them; as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God*: for, these (Indeed) carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties:

I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best waie to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Autoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually bee carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such

such men's taking the Covenant, who keep it with in such bounds of Pietie, Law, & Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretend's, I cannot think it just or comly, that by the partial advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting & compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should bee cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's now factiously engaged.

No man can bee more forward then My self to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advise) bee, by God's Word, and right reason, convinced to bee amiss; I have offered more then ever the fullest, free'st, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of som men's actions make's it evident, that the main Reformation intended,

ded, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must bee destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. beeing lean, may enjoie the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's Vineyard* made him the onely Blasphemer of his Cittie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fill's the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Factious men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man laie more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Church's Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predecessors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive Mee
or

or Mine to invade or sell the Priest's Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinitie, and *Joseph's* true pietie abhorred to do: so unjust I think it, both in the eie of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements, and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have don, to the red sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteem's it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chiefest glorie to bee, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledg and Apostacie.*

I had rather live as My Predecessor *Herrie* the third sometime did, on the Church's Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Bishop's and Minister's mouths.

The next work will bee *Jeroboam's* reformation; consecrating the meanest of the People to bee Priests in *Israel*, to serv those golden Calvs who have enriched themselves with the Church's Patrimonie and Dowrie, which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests & People, is well enough known: And so it will bee here, when, from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall bee at their allowance, who have already covered

covered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Church's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as praie God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it beeing everie man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would bee a Restorer of the one, so I would not bee an Oppressor of the other, under the pretens of Publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would bee much worf; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee accessorie to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I address My praier, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of My Subject's Swearings, and to quicken their sens and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of
this

this Kingdom have lai'd upon their Conscience, from which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolv them, or to engage them to anie contrarie practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can bee religious.

Thou allowest no man's committing Sacrilege under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posteritie of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bountie hath given us, and thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Increased, yet never suffer mee to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts & engagements of the Publick, which som men's follie & prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in times,

times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glorie, and the relief of the poor; that thy Priests may bee clothed with righteousness, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee given to Swine, nor the Church's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Cittie, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those Sacred morsels, which som men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor their's; let them bee as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their Mouths, rottenness to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the Church and State; that the follie of such may bee manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favor My righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. Upon the manie Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against Him.

IF I had not My own Innocencie, and God's protection, it were hard for Mee to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supplie the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust Engagements against Mee.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie com short of these designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gon: A good Name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.

Those foul and fals aspersions were secret engines at first emploied against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their too, might at once blow up their affections and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls; whose eies once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to bee destroyed; that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pittie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors, more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person, and intended to mend Mee, not to end Mee: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as hee hath yet preserved Mee, so hee hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have done.

I

I do

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affection toward the generalitie of My people, to suspect theirs to Mee; nor shal the malice of My Enemies ever bee able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence give's Mee; I shal never gratifie the spightfulness of a few willanie sinister thought of all their Allegiance whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst of men's ambition can do, shal never perswade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions; which possibly may bee Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sens of the Injuries don unto my Subjects is as sharp, as those don to My self; our welfares beeing inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by som seducers to injure at once both themselvys and Mee.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I bee afflicted; but it must be don by such instruments, that My afflictions griev Mee not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly

ly desire; and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must bee My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Mee; and for the restoring of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*, if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrarie windes, the storm of their miseries would bee rather increased then allaid.

I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betraye My own just Rights and Sovereigntie; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other men's mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Noveltie, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious

litious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's fancie; and, what their repoaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leisure to answer the manie false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Mee.

Did I not more consider My Subject's Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Mee take notice of, or remember what they saie, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on Mee; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie, (I need not saie Loyaltie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace, of Popular obloquie and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First,

First, nothing gave Mee more cause to suspect and search My own Innocencie, then when I observed so manie forward to engage against Mee, who had made great professions of singular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Mee, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or speak well of Mee, and not to blaspheme him; so manie were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Mee, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glorie so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Mee, then forsake Mee.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions, as were used against Mee, should be to manie well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Mee; Especially, being urged by such Popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call God's Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used,

I 3

nor

nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamors & activitie.

It was a great part of som mens Religion to scandalize Mee and Mine; they thought theirs could not bee true, if they cried not down Mine as fall.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give My Conscience leav to approov, or consent to those manie dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of som men would needs obtrude upon Mee, and My People.

Contrarie to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession & Constitution of this Church in *England*, which manie former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as be-

lieving

lieving it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of som Papists, which were My Subjects, anie waie fight against My Religion, as som men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they employed, or what they said, & did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would bee esteemed, should not conceiv, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily tal out, where there is the sameness of dutie, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second, they ow to Mee in common, as their KING. Different professions in point of Religion cannot (anie more then in civil Trades) take away the communie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *oglio* or medly of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Mee) without anie scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinons?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would bee counted Protestants, to enforce Mee, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My self.

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in such exigents to use the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sens of their Allegiance, then manie Protestant-Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Mee, (and verie pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Sword's points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less, then their prayers as Christians.

The nois of My *Evil Counsellors* was another useful devise for those, who were impatient anie men's counsels, but their own, should bee followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Mee better counsel, that they would not give Mee leav to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench that must bee powred down, then a draught which might bee fairly and leasurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors: They might bee subject to som miscarriages, yet

yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances; wherewith som men have now even wild' red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Mee, or My self anie inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions and Hell of miseries, as som have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the mid' st of their manie great advantages, redeem either Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either don or advised amiss; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorrie to see Mee prone even to injure My self, out of a zeal to reliev My Subjects.

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors)

tors) both of the comfort and reward of the former pretended persecutions; wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian would so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, than be revenged, so as to be bereaved that Crown of Christian Patience, which attend's humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw the People's affections from mee, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, than unapt to bear in the Popular sense, which is to do what everie man liketh best.

If the Divinest libertie bee to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I envie not My Subjects that libertie, which is I desire to enioie My self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing their's. Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assiste mee so prodigal of their liberties, as waste their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such a desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People; will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their

Ornament and Protection; others their Menacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just anie man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth it's rule and direction; losing justly his Safetie while hee seek's an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should bee really tender of their fellow-subject's liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humilitie and meekness, not with proud & arrogant activitie, which seek's to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on God's Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of men's consciences; and yet hee hath laid such restraints upon men, as command them to bee subject for Conscience sake,

Ornament

fake, giving no men libertie to break the Law established, further then with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the Publick Peace.

The truth is, som men's thirst after Novelties, other's despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting God's providence, as well as their own merits) were secret (but principal) impulsives to these Popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of the plentiful estates they got, and enjoied under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now bee blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and increas the ungrateful insolencies of My People.

For Mine Honor; I am well assured, that as Mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of anie calumnies they object; so My Reputation shall, like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as those feral birds shall bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were anie Princes more glorious, then

then those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who know's but the just and merciful God will do Mee good, for som men's hard, false, and evil speeches against Mee; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believ, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) as those men do, who, pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against anie of those, who contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those, who are honored with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not Honor their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie; yet hath hee graven such Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils bee able to

to hide the shining of My face, while G.
give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly
convers with him, from whom alone are
the irradiations of true glorie and majestie

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My
honor; My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that
set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth
spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach Mee all the day long,
those that are mad against Mee are sworn togeth.

O My God, how long shall the sons of men
My glorie into shame? how long shall they loo-
nitie, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked
on everie side. Hold not thy peace, lest My enem-
prevail against Mee, and laie Mine Honor in
dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lie.
the Lord will abhor both blood-thirstie, and de-
ful men.

Make My righteousness to appear as the light
and Mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun
noon daie.

Suffer not My silence to betraie Mine innocen-
nor My displeasure My patience; That, after M.
Saviors example, beeing reviled, I may not re-
again; and beeing cursed by them, I may bleſs them.

Thou that would'st not suffer Shimei's tong-

to go unpunished; when by thy judgments on Da-
vid hee might seem to justifie his disdainful re-
proaches, give Mee grace to intercede with thy
mercie for these My enemies; that the reward of
fals and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of
eternal fire, may not bee brought upon them.

Let My prayers, and patience, bee as water to cool
and quench their tongues, who are alreadie set on
fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those
malitious flames.

Let Mee bee happie to refute, and put to silence
their evil-speaking by wel-doing, and let them en-
joy not the fruit of their lips, but of My praier for
their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach Mee David's patience and Hezekiah's
devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through
man's malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's
railling, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as My
humble praier to thee, so thy renewed blessing to-
ward Mee.

Though they curse, do thou bleſs, and I shall bee
bleſsed, and made a blessing to My people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may
become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save Mee, from
the reproach of them that would swallow Me up.

Hide Mee in the secret of thy presence, from the
pride of man, and keep Mee from the strife of
tongues.

16. Upon

16. Upon the Ordinance against the Common
Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who, seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and pietie, must needs undo what ever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties allow former times anie share of degree of wisdom or godliness.

And becaus matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion (beeing the Soule's more immediate converse with the Divine Majestie) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to tell them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Formes of constant Prayers must bee not amended (what upon free and publick advise might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent) but wholly cashiered and abolished; and after manie Popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences and the Laws in force, must bee crucified by an Ordinance, the better

better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie; or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of England; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words, beeing known and fitted to men's understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see anie reason why Christians should bee wearie of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the Constancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulness.

I could never see anie Reason, why anie Christian should abhor, or bee forbidden to use the same Forms of praier, since hee praies to the same God, believ's in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, read's the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feel's the same dailie wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what wee praie, as to whom wee praie; and in what words, as to what sens; when we desire the same things, what hinder's wee may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may bee good when wee use, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread*.

Som men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely dis-use (as to manie) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all the Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expressions, in Publick Praier, or anie Sacred Administration, merit's a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties less subject to forme

and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee verie formal in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, then of constancie: Nor are constant Forms of Praiers more likelie to flat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and Devotion, then un-premeditated and confused varietie to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Minister's gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own, and the People's affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessitie why private and single abilities should quite jostle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie learned and godlie men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason bee thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of praiers, as may best fit the Church's common wants, inform the Hearer's understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consist's the verie life and soul of praier, and that so

much pretended Spirit of Praier) then a private man by his solitarie abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are in some times (even there, where they make great noise and shew) the affectations, emptiness, impertinencie, rudeness, confusions, silliness, levitie, obscuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the senseless, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glorie in that Pharisaick waie. Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infamy of what they so do and saie, in this of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and, indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that, in duty of frequent performance, as Sacramental ministrations, and the like, which are still the same, Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not likely to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the dutie, as forms of Publick composition; or else they must everie time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any man's great insufficiencies not to want (manie times) much of that compleatness, order, and gra-

tie, becomming those duties; which by this means are exposed at everie celebration to everie Minister's private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgment, and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience, in the Church, unavoidably following everie man's several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and pietie of the Antient Churches, to remedie those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick composition.

The want of which I believ this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of manie men's un-govern'd ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too manie, the more pittie.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbid, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used, and maintained the Service book; or, refusing to use it, cried out of the rigor of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the libertie

bertie of their Consciences, in not using it.
That these men (I saie) should so suddently
change the Liturgie into a *Directorie*, as if the
Spirit needed help for invention, though not
for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did
not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as
it were clothed in, and confined to fit words.
(So slight and easie is that Legerdemain,
which will serv to delude the vulgar.) They
further, they should use such severitie as not
to suffer, without penaltie, anie to use the
Common-Praier-Book publicly, (although
their Consciences binde them to it, as a Duty
of Pietie to God; and Obedience to the
Lawes.)

Thus I see, no men are prone to bee greater
Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon
others to conform to their illegal novelties
then such, whose pride was formerly least dis-
posed to the obedience of lawful Constitu-
tions; and whose licentious humors more
pretended Conscientious liberties; which
freedom, with much regreet, they now allow
to mee, and My Chaplains, (when they may
have leav to serv mee,) whose abilities, even
in their extemporarie waies com's not short of
the other's, but their modestie and learning
far exceed's the most of them.

But this matter is of so Popular a nature,
som men knew it would not bear learned and
sober

sober debates, lest, beeing convinced by the
evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they
should have been driv'n either to sin more
against their knowledg, by taking awaie the
Liturgie; or to displeas som faction of the
people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believ they have offended more
considerable men, not onely for their num-
bers and estate, but for their weightie and ju-
dicious pietie, then those are, whose weakness
or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking
it awaie.

One of the greatest faults som men found
with the Common-Praier-Book, I believ,
was this, That it taught them to praie so oft
for mee; to which Petitions they had not
Loyaltie enough to saie *Amen*, nor yet Chari-
tie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even
Curfings of mee in their own forms, in stead
of praying for mee.

I wish their Repentance may bee their
onely punishment; that, seeing the mischiefs
which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath
alreadie produced, they may restore that cre-
dit, use, and reverence to them, which by the
ancient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms
of sound and wholsom words.

*And thou, O Lord, who art the same God, blessed
for ever; whose mercies are full of varietie,
and*

and yet of constancie; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and dailie wants; nor despisest renewed affections joined to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Church's united and well-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervencie of our spirits to the motions of thy holie Spirit in us.

And then wee doubt not, but thy spiritual-perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our petition in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pietie or prudence of thy Church, that both may be used neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in Novelty & varietie, as Truths in unitie and Constancie; Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service; under the pretence of varietie and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unitie, and order,

under this fallacie, That Constancie is the Cause of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, and other holie men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be less to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.

TOUCHING the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Pietie, as Policie and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce mee to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers

Ministers tongues; who with the Keies of Heaven have so far the Keies of the People's hearts, as they prevail much by their Orations to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, beeing (as KING) entrusted by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken, by anie change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The mooving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off anie suspicion that I incline to them for anie use to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought anie Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charitie bee thought desirous to preserv that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion, where both My judgment is fully satisfied, that hath of all other the fullest Scripture-ground, & also the constant practice of all Christian Churches, til, of late years, the tumultuaries of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some men's wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christ's Government*.

Scepter

Scepter, and *Kingdom*, the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give mee leave, having none of their temptations to invite mee to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to anie new waies, contrarie to the full, and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successors the first & best Bishops, so it cannot in reason or charitie bee supposed, that all Churches in the world should either bee ignorant of the Rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holie pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can bee produced of anie settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large and evident Scripture-directions & examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothie* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothie* and *Titus*, but in the succession; the

(the want of Government beeing that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of wel-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of beeing.) I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishop's power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution; which to mee seem's no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the settling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities & duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over large divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Church's style appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that

that special dignitie which hath extraordinarie call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ; they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until *use* (the great Arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish, by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined, all Christian Churches submitting to that special authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancie, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many such holie Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothie* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who, not enduring sound doctrine and clear testimonies of all Church's practice, are most pervers Disputers,

ters, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacie: who, if they bee not Traitors and Boasters, yet they seem to bee verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselvs, having much of the form, little of the power of Godliness.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlaie and smother the pregnancie and autoritie of the power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince; that Posteritie may see (if ever these Papers bee publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiastical Examples, whereon My judgment was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it anie Policie of State, or obstinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed mee; who cannot in point of worldlie respects be so considerable to mee, as to recompense the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scrip

pture

pture is the best Rule, & the Church's Universal practise the best Commentarie, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an orderlie Subordination among Presbyters or Ministers, should bee anie more against Christianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments, where Paritie breed's Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believ, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likelic that God, who appointed several Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church amongst the Jewish Priests, should abhor, or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the Principles of Schism and Division, as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was Divine) after that Christians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might best preserv Order and Union with Autoritie.

So that I conceiv it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Auto-
ritie

ritie they constantly used and enjoied in the times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of the Presidencie and Autoritie in one man, by joint-Counsel and consent of manie Presbiteres: I have offered to restore that, as a means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions and Partialities which are incident to anie man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becometh no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will bee a means to take away the Burden and *odium* of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one man's shoulders; as indeed, I think it formerly did on the Bishop here.

Nor can I see what can bee more agreeable both to Reason and Religion; then such a frame of Government which is Paternal, and Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function, but also the difference of some Minister's gifts and aptitudes for Government above others doth invite to emploie them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Episcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit anie oppositions against

it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfy My self in what the chief Patronis for other waies can saie against this, or for their's: And I finde, as they have far less of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason; so of examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories they are wholly destitute; wherein the whole stream run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for anie others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for manie retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never see anie reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should bee forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this daie, who, Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are manie more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to bee; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize, (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as manie do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a hand-

handfull of som Protestants) so great scandall in point of Church-government, whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in som points of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade, that, to complete their Reformation, they must necessarily desert; and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks, (except those Aërians) have straitened from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laitie of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancie is a great prejudice against their Noveltie; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Consciences; So that their factiousness and levitie is never to be excused, when before ever the point of Church-government had anie free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cried

down the government by Bishops; but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from anie Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalence of parties, over som men's judgments, of whose so sudden and so total change little reason can be given, besides the Scots Armie coming into England.

But the follie of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacie will appear the greatest Enemies to; and betrayers of their own interest: for Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopacie. All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcass they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive

Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated, (it can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being gross vulgar error to impute to, or reverse upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principles, and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Esteem, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops, and Church-men, I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and pietie, which are fit to be in anie degree of Church Government; also enablements to works of Charitie & Hospitalitie; meet strengthening of their Autoritie in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hard to be paid to anie Governors by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their states: Povertie and meanness exposing their and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are more worthie of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at anie time My judgment of men failed; My good intention made Me

error venial: and som Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of anie worth or forehead can denie: but, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian partie, which make's all Ministers equal, and the Independent inferioritie, which set's their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopacie: wherein (God know's) I do not gratifie anie design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it bee just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Mee their KING and Sovereign, as som men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My judgment, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desire's not more then I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; in which I could never see anie probable shew for anie other waies: who either content themselves with the

the examples of som Churches in their infir-
mie and solitude, when one Presbyter might
serv one Congregation in the Cittie or Coun-
trie; or els denie these most evident Truths.
That the Apostles were Bishops over the
Presbyters they ordained, as well as over
Churches they planted; and that Govern-
ment beeing necessarie for the Churches we-
beeing, when multiplied and sociated, must
also necessarily descend from the Apostles
others, after the example of that power and
superioritie they had above others; which
could not end with their persons; since the
use and ends of such Government still con-
tinue.

It is most sure, that the purest, primitive,
best Churches flourished under Episcopacie;
and may so still, if ignorance, superstition,
avarice, revenge, and other disorderlie and
loyal passions had not so blown up some
minde against it, that, what they want
Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supply
with violence and oppression; wherein
men's zeal for Bishop's Land, Houses, and
Revenues hath set them on work to eat
Episcopacie: which (however other men
steem) to mee is no less sin, then Sacriledge,
a robbrie of God (the giver of all wee have)
of that portion which devout mindes have
thankfully given again to him, in giving it

his Church and Prophets; through whose
hands hee graciously accept's even a cup of
cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engage-
ment above other men, by an Oath agreeable
to My judgment, I am solemnly obliged to
preserv that Government, and the Rights of
the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of
the Function, as Antichristian, (which som
men boldly, but weakly caluminate) I could
soon with Judgment, break that Oath, which
erroneously was taken by mee.

But beeing daily, by the best disquisition
of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and
Religion of that to which I am Sworn; how
can anie man that wisheth not My damna-
tion, perswade mee at once to so notorious and
combined sins, of Sacriledge and Perjurie?
besides the manie personal Injustices I must
do to manie worthie men, who are as legally
invested in their Estates, as anie, who seek
to deprive them; and they have by no Law
been convicted of those crimes, which might
forfeit their Estates and Livelie-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending
to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformati-
on, can at once tell mee, that My Coronation-
Oath bind's mee to Consent to whatsoever
they shall propound to mee, (which they urge
with

with such violence) though contrarie to that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought to preserv; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time, these men will needs persuade mee, That I must, and ought to dispute with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's mee (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church: 'Tis strange, My Oath should bee valid in that part, which both My self and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very natural and essential libertie of our souls; yet it should bee invalid, and to bee broken in another claus, wherein I think My self justly obliged, both to God, and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some men's ambitious Covetousness and Sacrilegious Crueltie, torturing (with mee) both Church and State, in Civil dissensions; till I shall bee forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God know's) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor; as manie waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should shamefully and dishonorably give My consent, yet should I not, by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties,

Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against mee, and Episcopacie.

Nor can My late condescending to the Scots, in point of Church-government, bee rightly objected against mee, as an inducement for mee to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it should bee considered that Episcopacie was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If anie shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happie and successful as to encourage mee to grant the like to others.

Did I see anie thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charitie, and Loyaltie in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect My judgment to bee biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrarie in the manners of manie of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for

for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished beyond what they have don in My Kingdom (by God's blessing) which might make Me believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and men's hearts and lives, then Episcopacie in it's right Constitution.

The abuses of which, deserv to bee extirpated, as much as the use retained, for I thinke it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-affairs should bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me,

For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and tenderness; as thou hast set Me to bee a Defender

dor of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church; so suffer Me not, by anie violence, to bee over-borne against My Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause; let not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envie, which seek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others pass by without regard, either to pittie, or reliefe.

As My power is from thee, so give Me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to bee Master of My other Rights, as a KING; yet preserve Me in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Church's welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience, as a Christian.

Preserve, from sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy Providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Bear and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happie and flourishing estate.

O Let

O Let Mee not bear the infamous brand to all Posteritie; of being the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church; and the Fathers of it; whose error I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, then expose their Persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of thy Church's peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms, and disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine, and thy Church's enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. Upon Uxbridg-Treatie, and other Offers made by the KING.

I Look upon the waie of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it, having greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianitie, to seek peace and ensue it.

As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My self with Arms; so I verie willingly imbraced anie thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being verie dubious, and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did anie success I had ever enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: All that I sought to reserv, was Mine Honor, and My Conscience, the one I could not part with, as a KING; the other, as a Christian.

The Treatie at Uxbridg gave the fairest hopes of an happie composure; had others applied

applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did; I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor, and Conscience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My People's happiness; or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered My Subject's either securitie, or prosperitie; for they better enjoyed both, manie years, before ever those demands were made; som of which to denie, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favor to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allaid, as they are raised: Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, must bee made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enioie in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the verie Name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least libertie of prudence, having so manie strict Ties of Conscience upon Me, yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousness, or superstition had not engaged more, then anie true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true pietie; I onely sought to continue what was necessarie in point of Order, Maintenance, and Autoritie to the Church's Government, and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also to the Primitive-Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Universal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without anie probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie som men's wils and phantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in anie point, but that of extirpating Episcopacie, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softness, and infirmitie of minde in Me, as will rather part with God's Truth, then Man's Peace, and rather lose the Church's honor, then cross som men's Factionous humors.

God know's, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-succesfulness of that Treatie; & who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believ, I am verie excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no less the restoration of Peace to My people, then the preservation

vation of My own Crowns to My posteritie.

Som men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness; and glorie most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask somthing, which in reason and honour must bee denied, that they might have some color to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Mee destroye My self by dishonorable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treatie, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to som men's further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Concessions, or Negotiations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Mee not above a Treatie; nor the lowest ebb below Fight: Though I never thought it anie sign of true valour to bee prodigal of men's lives, rather

rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other men's.

That which made Mee for the most part presage the unsuccessfulness of anie Treatie, was, som men's unwillingness to Treat: which implied som things were to bee gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, beeing more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellors.

I praie God forgive them that were guiltie of that Treatie's-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunitie to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may bee happily obtain'd; what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may gain by our Praiers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to bee reconciled with thy self; who wantest not power, or justice, to destroye them, yet aboundest in mercie to save; soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace! but
Al when

when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should bee among our selves.

Remove the evils of War wee have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. Upon the various events of the War Victories, and Defeats.

THe various Successes of this unhappy war have, at least, afforded mee variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to trie mee with victorie, by working in My Enemies, that I might know how to use moderation and thanks to own, and use power, who is onely the true Lord of Hosts: able when he please's to repress the confidence of those, that fought against mee, who so great advantages for power and numbers. From small beginnings on My part hee

mee see that I was not wholly forsaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach mee not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My cause: and those that were with mee wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and mee: Nor were My enemies less punished by that prosperitie, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagements, nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the waie of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of anie Cause, nor the peace of men's Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Command; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or against Mee, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of som pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabric both of Church and State; beeing such imaginarie Reasons for self-defens as are most impertinent for those men to alledg, who, beeing My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Mee and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces. The same Allegations, they use, will fit anie Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the sword all their demands against the present Laws and Governors which can never bee such as som side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to Rebellion against them; som parasitick Preachers have dared to call those *Martyrs*, who died fighting against Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with Truth bee applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred God's Truth and their dutie in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them

this world; who, having no advantageous designs by anie Innovation, were religiously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, and My self, which laie upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercie, crown manie of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as a gracious opportunitie for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did, through God's grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of; or, without Repentance, hope to enioie.

They have often, indeed, had the better against My side in the field; but never, I believ, at the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those manie pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate braverie, to fight against those

Forces, which sometimes God gave Mee.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duely values his dutie, his soul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glorie, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to bee daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them; especially since they and all the world have seen, how fallacious and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising War, and continuing it thus long against Me, and the Laws established; in whose safetie and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrie doth consist.

For, and with, all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often praied, that all on My side might join true pietie with the sens of their Loyaltie; and bee as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that anie shews, or fruits of pietie on the other side were sufficient to disper-

dispens with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Mee, which have so pregnant convictions on men's Consciences, that even profaner men are mooved by the sens of them to venture their Lives for Mee.

I never had anie victorie which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abolom*, died manie of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered anie Defeat, which made Mee despair of God's mercie and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serv to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of My People, which I saw were extremely oppressed together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of anie just restraint.

When Providence gave Mee, or denied Mee Victorie, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly, who I believed at last would make all things work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was affraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over My self. When

the first was denied, the second was granted Mee, which God saw best for Mee.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and, by deferring Peace, hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often-Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad Mee to fear a War, but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to some Men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modestie and gratitude, which became their Loyaltie and My confidence.

Had I yeelded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happie conclusion of so unhappie beginnings: The inevitable

ble fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to bee quiet: wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another; for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leav our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When wee fight more against our selves, and less against God, wee shall cease fighting against one another; I praise God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happie conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People; and they may learn better to obey both God, and Mee.

Nor do I desire anie man should bee further subject to Mee, then all of us may bee subject to God.

O My God, make Mee content to bee overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach Mee the noblest Victorie over My self, and My Enemies by Patience; which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between

Between both thy hands, the right sometime
supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion was
that frame of Pictie thou likest best.

Forgive the Pride that attend's our prosper
and the repinings which follow our disastrous
vents; when going forth in our own strength,
withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with
Armies.

Bee thou all, when wee are something, and the
me are nothing; that thou mai'st have the glory
when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious cir-
culation.

Thou, O Lord, knowest, how hard it is for Me
suffer so much evil from My Subjects, to whom
intend nothing but good; and I cannot but sit
in those evils which they compel Me to inflict
upon them, punishing My self in their pun-
ishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech thee give Me a double portion of thy Spirit, and the measure of grace, which onely can bee sufficient for Me.

As I am most afflicted, so make mee most re-
med, that I may bee not onely happie to see an end
of these civil distractions, but a chief Instru-
ment to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace
My Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to out
com each other with Reason, Moderation, and

Self-denial, as becom's those, who consider that
our mutual divisions are our common distractions,
and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefest
interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our Peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War thou should'st see fit still to demie us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give Mee thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enioie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Mee the blood of My Subjects,
which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath
been shed by Mee in My just and necessarie defense;
but wash Mee with that precious blood which hath
been shed for Mee by My great Peace-maker Jesus
Christ: who will, I trust, redeem Mee shortly out
of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of
the Wicked is but short, and the joie of Hypocrites is
but for a moment.

20. Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glorie is more to bee envied then that
of due reforming either Church or State,
when deformities are such, that the pertur-
bation

bation and Novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honor Mee so far, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should bee glad to see it don.

As I was wel-pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorrie to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factionous Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled; which ought to bee the first Rule and *Standard* of reforming; with how much partialitie and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Noveltyes of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what uncertainties and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergie, what injurious diminutions and persecutions of Mee have followed (as showres do warme gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men

men are Witnesses, and (with My self) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamors and furie have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick sens; so that the studie to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure the best tempers of reforming Councils and endeavours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assemblie of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted waie) to advise of Church-affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of

of *England*, as to the main, would have suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be an Apostolical institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, & the influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and, in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shin'es on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for all that, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite ab-

rogate

rogate the Autoritie of that Antient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsils, and such (I beleeve) as would have giv'n more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's designs; which, no doubt, manie of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles of *Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom*, (which certainly is not divided; nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the nois of a thorow-Reformation, may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colors may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosies, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publick service of God, where

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no Christian can tell to what hee may saie *Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechisms and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or cleare Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion:

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformation (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give som short flashes of content to the Vulgar, who are taken with Novelties. Children with Babies, verie much, but not all this amount's not to, nor the glorie of the Church, since they are discontented, nor the Order of Pietie, Morallitie, Chastitie, and Obedience.

Nor can they easily recompens or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies bee applied.

I wish

I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But som men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so manie Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War, by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of *Christ's Spirit* for meekness, wisdom, and charitie, in men's hearts, as there was of his *Name* used in the pretensions, to reform all to *Christ's Rule*, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of *Christ's Glorie*, the Church's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others, for Deformities within will soon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reformation to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the

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the Church cannot consist with that of per-
turbing the Civil State; nor can Religion bee
justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie,
which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and
Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to Fear
God, is, *Honor the King.*

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may
bee set up without pulling down Mine; nor
will anie men in impartial times appear good
Christians, that approov not themselvs good
Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine,
not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from
Him, so I desire to rule for his Glorie, and his
Church's good.

Had som men truly intended Christ's Go-
vernment, or knew what it meant in their
hearts, they could never have been so ill-
governed in their words and actions, both
against Mee and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means:
so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth
good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle
of Mercie, create Light out of Darkness, Or-
der out of our Confusions, and Peace out of
our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beautie
for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us
not to bee miserably deluded with Pharisaical
washings;

washings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within; make us
the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our
own souls:

That wee may in clearness of Judgment, and up-
rightness of heart bee means to reform what is in-
deed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew
right spirits within us; that wee may do all by
thy directions, to thy Glorie, and with thy Bless-
ing.

Pittie the deformities which som rash and cruel
Reformers have brought upon this Church and
State: Quench the fires which Factions have kin-
dled, under the pretens of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world, by their divi-
sions and confusions, what is the pravitie of som
men's intentions, and weakness of their judgments;
so bring us at last more refined out of these fires;
by the methods of Christian and charitable Refor-
mations; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge,
Covetousness, or Sacriledg, may have anie influ-
ence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in
just and lawful waies shall entrust with so great,
good, and now most necessarie work: that I and
My People may bee so blest'd with inward Pietie, as
may best teach us how to use the blessing of out-
ward Peace.

21. *Upon His Majestie's Letters taken and divulged.*

THE taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected it, so they knew not how with Honor and Civilitie to use: Nor do I think, with sober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Virtue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and freedom of which command's a civilitie from men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anything more inhumane then to expose them to Publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I studied to approve to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without anie of the dresses or popular captations which some

use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both Deceived and Destroyed.

Nor can anie men's malice be gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider suck's Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who love's mee, or the Common-wealth; since My Subjects can hardly be happy, if I be miserable; or enjoye their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some men's design, like *Absolom's*, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

The integritie of My intentions is not jealous

lous of anie injurie, My expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocencie of My chief purposes cannot bee so stained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happie composition of differences with Justice and Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie sparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who, by those My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both minde and Act Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, so as becom's a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwaies been verie loth should bee believed of Mee; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleas to brand with the names of *Evil Counsellors*.

It's probable som men will now look upon Mee as My own Counsellor; and, having none elf to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My self: Although I know they are verie unwilling I should enioie that libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that light of My own Conscience, which they labor to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselves; not allowing Mee to think their Counsels to bee
other

other then good for Mee, which have so long maintained a War against Mee.

The Victorie they obtained that daie, when My letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popular glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus; as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Caus, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyaltie to Mee, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which som men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor wor-thie to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and crueltie, I must bee compelled, first,
to

to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then bee destroyed: But I know God's unerring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most pervers wills and designs of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemy's thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost anie more then so manie Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to bee paid to all men, and most become's such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them som secret impressions of that shame and dishonor, which attend's all unworthie actions, have they never so much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bless'd the modest respect and filial tenderness which Noah's Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmities justifie Cham's impudencie, or exempt him from that curse of beeing *Servant of servants*; which curse must needs bee on them who seek by dishonorable actions to plead the

the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions bee ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose Mee to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that Dutie of modest concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in case they had discovered anie real uncomliness; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as hee did *David*) more respected in the hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendered Mee as a *vile Person*, not fit to bee trusted, or considered, under anie notion of Majestic.

But then, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs, make Mee to see the constancie of thy Mercies to Mee, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of My Enemies against Mee.

As thou did'st blast the counsel of Achitophel, turning it to David's good, and his own ruine, so can'st thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing My private letters, nothing els, but to render Mee more odious & contemptible to My people.

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who can'st

can'st witness with My integritie, how unjust and fals those scandalous mis-constructions are, which My enemies endeavour by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby, against Mee, so to returne on their own heads, that they may bee ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou see'st how Mine Enemies use all means to cloud Mine Honor, to pervert My purposes, and slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee dishonored for thy sake, and thy Church's good.

Fix in Mee a purpose to honor thee, and then know thou wilt honor Mee; either by restoring Mee the enjoyment of that Power and Majestie which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive Mee of, or by bestowing on Mee that crown of Christian patience, which know's how to serve thee in honor, or dishonor, in good report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honor; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie, make Mee to partake of thy excellencie for wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honor and Majestie, which becom's the Place in which thou hast set Mee, who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead mee to thy Glorie, which is both true, and eternal.

22. Upon His Majestie's leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.

Although God hath giv'n Mee three Kingdoms, yet in these Hee hath not now left Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and Honor rest My Head: Shewing Mee that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defense, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much, as to God; Hee will not have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and My now distressed Affairs upon his Mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessitie is now My Counsellor, and command's Mee to studie My safetie by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began My Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may disarm and overcome Them: My rend'ring My Person to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Mee, but for Mee.*

I must now resolv the riddle of their Loyaltie; and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they saie.

Yet must God bee My chieftest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserv My Soule to God, and My self: nor shall anie necessitie compel Mee to desert Mine Honor, or swerve from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by Force, shall now bee giv'n them in such a waie of unfeigned Confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to bee really such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God see's it not enough to deprive Me of Militarie power to defend My self, but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in Dutie to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leav those that have Adhered to Mee, and applie to those that have Opposed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already

alreadie made: and in it I am no less solicitous for My Friend's safetie, then Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Soule's libertie, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My Consent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no success darken's, or disguise's Truth to Mee; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loyal Subjects, *full of power*.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think My self weak'ned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclips of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supplie with inward resolutions; not morosely to denie, what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie.

I shall never think My self less then My self while

while I am able thus to preserv the Integrity of My Conscience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eyes are towards thee: the protection of thy Mercie I still commend to self.

As Thou hast preserved Mee in the daie of Babel; so Thou canst still shew Mee Thy strength in My weakness.

Bee Thou unto Mee in My darkest night, a Pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the daie of My hottest affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud to over-shadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not anie perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Mee thus far to hazard My person, Peace, and Safetie, against Those that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompanie Mee, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reason, and that sortress of My Soul, which I am entrusted to keep for Thee.

Lead Mee in the paths of thy Righteousness, and shew Mee thy Salvation.

Make My waies to please thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with Mee.

23. Upon the Scot's delivering the KING to the English; and His Captivitie at Holmbie.

—YET may I justifie those Scots to all the World in this, That they have not deceived Mee; for I never trusted to them further then to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorrie they should do it; and that My price should bee so much above My Saviour's.

These are but further Essaies, which God will have Mee make of man's uncertaintie; the more to fix Mee on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him: Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that lean's on them; yet the Rock of Israel will bee an everlasting staie and defens.

God's Providence commands Mee to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enioie My self; whom I lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The solitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, give's Mee leasure enough to studie the world's vanitie and inconstancie.

God

God see's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in Hell, nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great caus to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power, since My Soul is still My own: nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call Obstinacie, I know God's count's honest Constancie, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbids Mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Confessors with Mee, but a good Conscience in Mee, which hath been fought against; nor do they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what som men desire, should bee such as they wish Mee: not more King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though

have as little of safetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never bee My snare; nor shall the love of anie libertie entangle My soul: Better others betraye Mee, then My self; and that the price of My Libertie should bee My Conscience: The greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own consent.

While I can denie with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice; who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroye My self and Mine.

Although they should Destroye Mee, yet they shall have no caus to Despise Mee.

Neither libertie, nor life are so dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by God's blessing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of My subjects; if I burie them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice, which som men's violence hath digged for them.

If My captivitie, or death must bee the price of their redemption, I grudg not to paie it.

No condition can make a King miserable which carri's not with it his souls, his People's, and Posteritie's thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; haply I might redeem My self to som shew of libertie, it would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becom's of Me, whose solitude hath not left Mee alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, with Mee; whose presence is better then life, whose service is perfect freedom.

Own Mee for thy Servant; and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that libertie which becom's a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless Mee still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.

Though Thou sufferest Mee to bee stript of all outward ornaments; yet preserv Mee ever in those joiments, wherein I may enioie thy self; which cannot bee taken from Mee against thy will.

Let no fire of affliction boil over My passion to anie impatience, or sordid fears.

There bee manie saie of Mee, There is no help for Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of thy Countenance upon Mee, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give Mee that measure of Patience and constancie, which My condition now require's.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, my Person restrained: O bee not Thou far from Mee, lest my Enemies prevail too much against Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a scorn to manie: O bee Thou My Helper and Defendor.

Shew som token upon Mee for good, that they, that hate Mee, may bee ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted Mee: establish Mee with thy free Spirit that I may do and suffer thy Will, as thou would'st have Mee.

Bee merciful to Mee, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in Thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make My refuge until these calamities bee over-past.

Arise to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O My God. Though Thou killest Mee, yet will I trust in Thy Mercie, and My Saviour's Merit.

I know that My Redecmer liveth; though Thou ledest Mee through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendance of som of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have caus to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to sustein the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and use of them in God's good time: so reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amid'st the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The solitude, they have confined Mee unto, add's the Wilderness to My temptations; For the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more sad then anie solitude can bee.

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had

had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to denie Mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors, whom though the Justice of the Law deprive's of worldlie comforts; yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroe their Bodies, and to damni their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things elf, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sens Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of som of My Chaplains.

I have somtime thought the Unchristianess of those denials might arise from a displeasure som men had to see Mee prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom

though I respect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think so proper for anie present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; since, their judgements standing at a distance from Mee, or in jealousie of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable: whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consist's in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Som Remedies are worse then the Disease, and som Comforters more miserable then Miserie it self; when, like *Job's* friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to despair of God's Mercie, and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a Friend to all Church-men, that have anie thing in them becomming the

Sac-

Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eies of manie cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandsonly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors; and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pittie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choise of som for My special Attendants, who were best approoved in My judgement; and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's praers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue saie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither Profane boldness, nor Pious non-sens; but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shew's the Speaker to bee at once considerate of Gods Majestie, the Church's Honor, and his own Vileness;

ness; both knowing what things God allow him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting Humilitie to God, or Charitie to men, or Respect to the Dutie.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons; so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Church's and everie Christian's dailie and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can be of anie man's extemporarie sufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occasions; so I allow its liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant and occasional, solitarie and social Devotions;

So that I must needs seem to all equall mindes with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their

their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet should I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use, which is already as much despised and disused by manie of them, as the Common-Praier sometimes was by those men, a great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the wo of *Va soli*, then to that of *Va vobis, Hypocrita*, by seeming to praie what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Deniers sufficient of My self to discharge My dutie to God as a Priest; though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as antiently they were under one name, & the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,

Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet; the other, of a Preacher: Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of those the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it beeing infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of God's Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings and Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorrie to finde My self reduced to the necessity of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For such, as seek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie Power and Sovereignie, would lesse enforce Mee to live manie Months without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I becom My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Christian King; so I desire to enjoine from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers, which I look upon as more prevalent than My own, or other men's; by how much the flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections less distracted, then those which are encombred

encombred with Secular Affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attend's those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and Consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offer's it self and it's services to God, everie private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honor of a Royal Priest-hood; yet, as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think Confusion in Religion will as certainly follow everie man's turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where everie one affect's to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conscioufness to My spiritual defects make's Mee more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holie and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Mee; so as to leav them nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousy and offense to denie Mee, then this of having some means afforded

ded Mee for My soul's comfort and support. To which end I made choise of men, as I waie (that I know) scandalous; so everie eminent for their Learning and Pietie, no less then for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine any exceptions to bee made against them but only this, That they may seem too able and too wel-affected toward Mee and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count the best) in which they have forced Mee to serv My self; though I must confess I be with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of anie other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in som thing) to the beeing sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these, indeed, more humane and temporarie affections; but from those, more of heavenlie and eternal improvements may bee expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (and neglected) want of ordinarie means, God will not afford extraordinarie supplies of gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help Me in Infirmities in praier, reading and meditation (as I hope hee will) I shall need no other, neither Orator, or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct My now-solitarie praiers; what I want

other's help, supplie with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit; which alone can both enlighten My darkness, and quicken My dulness.

O thou Sun of Righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenlie light and heat, at once clear and warm My heart, both by instructing of Mee, and interceding for Mee: In thee is all fulness; from thee is all-sufficiencie; by thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee also My Prophet, and My Priest: Rule Mee, Teach Mee, Praie in Mee, for Mee; and bee thou ever with Mee.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel, when hee had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcom violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O Look on Mee thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou didst once bless with the joint and sociated Devotions of others; whose fervencie might inflame the coldness of My Affections towards thee, when wee went to, or met in thy House, with the voice of joie and gladness, worshipping thee in the Unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O Forgive the neglect, and not improving of these happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should bee as a Pelican in the wilderness; as a Sparrow on the house-top; and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings,

glowings, and devout reflections, which may best kindle; preserve, and increase the holie fire of thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence: Sacrifice of Prayers, and Incense of Praises, may bee duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not diminish the weakness of My Prayers, nor the smothering of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to whom I am constrained by some men's uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and less desire.

O Let the hardness of their hearts occasion softnings of Mine to thee, and for Them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more increase My prayers to thee. Let their inexorable denials incline thine ear to Me; who art a God who hee entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it will not hear; nor thy heart hard, that it will not help; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Mee the solate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Me of outward means, which thou hast appointed for the Church; but they cannot debar Me from communion of that inward grace, which thou breathest into humble hearts.

O make Mee such, and thou wilt teach Me; thou wilt hear Me; thou wilt help Me: The low and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make Mee thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up, in holie meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeined tears, My self to thee; who preparest Mee for thee, dwellest in Mee, and acceptest of Mee.

Thou, O Lord, didst cause, by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend; nor the little oil in the cruic fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on My soul, which, as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths, I have formerly learned, now fail My memorie; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I Have sometime felt, now bee wanting to My Heart, in this famine of ordinarie and wholsome food, for the refreshing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, then to feed from those hands who mingle My bread with ashes, and My wine with gall; rather tormenting then teaching Me; whose mouths are proper to bitter reproaches of Mee, then to heartie prayers for Mee.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest thy Holie Scriptures to My destruction, which are clear for their subjection, and My preservation: O let it not bee to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men, under color of long prayers, have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let

O Let not those men's balms break My head; nor their Cordials oppress My heart; I will evermore praise against their wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the sword, and their words ever deliver Mee, O Lord; and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperitie of My soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadness and solitude of thy servant, O My King, and My God.

25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at Holmby.

Give ear to My words, O Lord, consider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My crie, My King and My God; for unto Thee will I praise.

I said, in My haste, I am cast out of sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou heardest the voice of My supplication; when I cried unto Thee.

If thou Lord should'st bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercie with Thee that Thou maiest bee feared; therefore shall sinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of My condition, the eminence of My Place adding weight to My offenses.

Forgive

Forgive, I beseech thee, My Personal and My People's sins; which are so far Mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest Mee, to thy glorie, and My Subject's good: Thou hast now brought Mee from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Prisoner to My own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained My Person, yet enlarge My heart to thee, and thy grace towards Mee.

I com far short of David's pietie; yet since I may equal David's afflictions, give Mee also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sens I have of My sins, bee an evidence to Mee, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto Mee; have mercie upon Mee, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of My heart are enlarged; O bring thou Mee out of My troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to bee gracious, and shut up thy loving kindeness in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindenesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleev'd to see thy goodness in the land of the living.

P

Let

Let not the sins of our prosperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial consume the dross, which in long peace and plentie wee had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace: what is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away, but thy hand of justice must bee stretched out still: Let it, I beseech thee, bee against Mee, and My Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let My sufferings satiate the malice of Mine, and thy Church's enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of My charitie.

Banish from Mee all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward; nor thou, the glorie of My patience.

As thou givest Mee a heart to forgive them, so, I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have done against thee and Mee.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given Mee a heart to praie unto thee, so hear and accept the Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember Mee, and My Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling Thy true Religion among us:

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice:

In suppressing the manie Schisms in Church, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt restore Mee and Mine to the Antient rights and glorie of My Predecessors:

If thou wilt turn the hearts of My People to thy self in Pietie, to Mee in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie:

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of these Civil Wars:

If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of Publick Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar:

If thou wilt keep Mee from the great offense of enacting anie thing against My Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines and spoilings of thy Church:

If thou wilt restore Mee to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State:

Then shall My soul praise thee, and magnifie thy Name before My People:

Then shall thy glorie bee dearer to Mee then My Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power bee My chiefeest care:

Then will I rule My People with Justice, and My Kingdoms with equitie:

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever ow as the rightful succession; so the merciful restoration of My Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring Mee again with peace, safetie, and

and honor, to My chiefeſt Cittie, and My Parliament :

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into My hand to puniſh and proteſt :

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and My verie Enemies to enioie the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended Mee in anie kinde, ſo My hand ſhall never bee againſt anie man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of anie particular injurie don to Mee.

Wee have been mutually puniſhed in our unnatural diſviſions ; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in My heart, That I will uſe all means in the waies of amneſtie and indemnitie, which may moſt fully remoov all fears, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulneſs.

Let thy Mercies bee toward Mee and Mine, as My reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward My people.

Hear My praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of feined lips.

Bleſſed bee God, who hath not turned away My praier ; nor taken his Mercie from Mee.

O My ſoul, commit thy waie to the Lord, truſt in him, and hee ſhall bring it to paſs.

But if thou wilt not reſtore Mee and Mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly ?

Then

Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Mee.

But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Mee by My ſufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercie, then of man's crueltie, or thy own juſtice.

17. To the Prince of Wales.

SON! if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartial thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late Troubles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd ; they may bee ſo far uſeful to You, as to ſtate Your judgment aright in what hath paſſed ; whereof a pious is the beſt uſe can bee made ; And they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedie the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to com.

It is ſome kinde of deceiving and leſſening the injurie of My long reſtraint, when I finde My leaſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worchie of My ſelf, and uſefull to You ; That neither You, nor anie other, may hereafter meaſure My Caul by the Succeſs ; nor My Judgment of things by My miſfortunes ; which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have

have so far lighted upon You, and Others, whom I have most caus'd to love well as My self; and of whose unmerited fringes I have a greater sens than of Mine. But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes; that You have been and now spent som years of discretion, in experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political, are commonly be- planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter then in warmth and serenitie of times: amid'st those delights, which usually are in Prince's Courts in times of Peace and Plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plant of true Virtue and Honor; or to be contented onely with som leavs, and without formalities of them, without anie real fruit, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holie Writ afford's us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by manie afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned by the unparalleled prosperitie of *Solomon's* Court; and so contrasted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatteries which are as unseparable from prosperitie

Princes

Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversitie, like cold weather, drive's away.

I had rather You should bee *Charles le Bon*, then *le Grand*, Good, then Great, I hope God hath designed You to bee both; having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vitious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princelie indowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have You begin & end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty You can attein to, is, to bee subject to him; that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glorie of Princes consist's in advancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Church's Good; Also in the dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honor, to the Publick Peace.

Pietie will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from beeing miserable; nor is hee much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which hee hath been pleased to draw on Mee, and by which hee hath (I hope) drawn Mee nearer to himselfe. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk, which I look upon as God's Physick, having that in healthfulness which it want's in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, well-grounded and settled in Your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written; that it may be judiciously Your own Religion, and not other men's custom or tradition which You profess.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessarie for Your Soul's then Your Kingdom's Peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an
Angel

Angel of reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some men's Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Pietie plead's for peace and patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You be well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion: for that seem's even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous, hoping to cover those irreverent deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, & the Church's well settled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gain's You not so great advantages in some men's hearts (who are prone to be of their King's Religion) as it loseth You in others, who think themselves and their pro-
fession

profession first despised, then persecuted by you. Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offenses by impartialitie; so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For, if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their Courtesy, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never expect less of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, then from those, who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their interest is always made God's; under the Colors of Piety, ambitious policies March, nor only with great security, but applause, as to the populace: You may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in England, for many years; so compliant they were to Public order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as soon as discontents drove men into Sidings, as ill humors fall to the affected part, which cause's inflammations, did all, at first, who affected any Novelty adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were opposed to

Servants

Servants to Presbyterie, their great Master: till time and military success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes; and, leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Church's peace, so as to neglect a speedy re-forming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as a hand-bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done Justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unity in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, That of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subject's industrie, liberty, and happiness; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who owns his

his People as Subjects, not as Slaves ; whose subjection, as it preserv's their Propertie, Peace, and Safetie, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties: which consist in the enjoiment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselvs have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole bodie, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws ; there beeing nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the testimonie of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Mee but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those Alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto

hitherto have been chiefly used towards Mee, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Interest, and the Good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with Mee, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his Justice, by the verie unjust hands of som of My Subjects, hath been pleased to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from Men, while I retin in My soul, what I believ is right before G O D.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reason, Honor, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall, in his due time, after My decess, bring You, as I hope Hee will, My Counsel & Charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon anie man's single counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then anie man's.

Next, beware of exasperating anie Factions by the crossness, and asperitie of som men's passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipate's their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifie's; and put's the despised and oppressed Partie into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attend's all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies

Alwaies keep up Solid Pietie, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eie, and impartial hand, distribute favors and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelitie worthe and capable of them.

This will bee sure to gain You the hearts of the best and the most too; who, though they bee not good themselvs, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at anie time sweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different & opposite Factions, (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in anie conformance to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy; (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as set's them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonist.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the

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the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves; which were at first wrap't up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not less cruel, so hee will bee more justly hated, when hee shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicitie follow those disguises, My Charge and Counsel to You is, That, as You need no palliations for anie Designs, (as other men) so You studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of Goodness, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest nois and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from anie Subject's Novelties, as from the virtuous constancie of their King.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the Sun-shine of God's mercie, and the splendor of Your virtues, bee thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppres-

fors

sors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences then those men, that entitle themselves The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betraie You to anie studie of Revenge upon those, whose own sin and follie will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, use all Princelie Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds; that the smart of the Cure may not equal the anguish of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to bee anie waie obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serv to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propens to the same waie; when ever it shall bee desired and accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an Act of State-Policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie and Choise.

It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to forgive those, that have deprived Mee of all; and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it; and joie as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n Mee, as in all My former enjoiments; for this is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee, then anie Prosperitie can bee.

Bee

Bee confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have don amiss, have don so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will bee more loyal and faithful to Mee and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make som reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie set's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject; so the nobleness of Your minde must raif You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conscious You shall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to expect all Love and Loyaltie from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's Mercie, and My Subject's affections towards You; both which, I hope, You will studie to deserve; yet Wee cannot merit of God, but by his own Mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore Mee, and You after Mee, to those enjoiments, which the
Laws

Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I shall bee so happie to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never see My face again, and God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfecting som men's designs require's) wherein few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receiv the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, and manie disputes, have concluded it to bee the best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle waie between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that (the draught beeing excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) som lines, as in verie good figures, may haply need som

som sweet'ning, or polishing; which might here have easily been don by a safe and gentle hand; if som men's precipitancie had not violently demanded such rude Alterations. would have quite destroyed all the Beauties and Proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which som may object and urge to You against the Protestant-Religion established in England, is easily Answered to them, or Your own thoughts, in this, That scarce anie one hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, Laws, and Mee, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant-Religion, established in ENGLAND: which neither give's such Rules, nor ever before such Examples.

'Tis true, som heretofore had the boldness to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have put in Execution: but let not counterfeited and disorderlie Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Pietie; both of them are known by their Fruits; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to cover the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain anie conversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which, in their right constitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminish Your Greatness, but will rather bee as interchanges of Love, Loyaltie, and Confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of Popular dictates, and tumultuarie impressions: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserv that Freedom and Honor, which belongs to such Assemblies (when since they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the Publick interest consist's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can bee more happie for all, then, in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by Publick Consent, without Tyranny or Tumults. Wee must not starve our selves, becaus som men have surfeited of holsum food.

And if neither I, nor You, bee ever restored to Our Right, but God, in his severest Justice, will punish My Subjects with continuance in their

their sin, and suffer them to bee deluded by the prosperitie of their wickedness; I praye God will give Mee, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well to wear a Crown; which is not worth to be up, or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of pietie, true, and honor; You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother My Wife, who hath manie waies deserved well of Mee, chiefly in this, that (having been a mercifull Mother to Mee) shee hath blessed Mee with so manie hopeful Children (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) Shee hath been content with incomparable magnanimitie and patience to suffer both for, and with Mee, for Your sake.

My praier to God Almighty is, (who is the Father of Mee, who am; I thank God, who is my Father) that hee would bee pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather than these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by Your Wisdom, Justice, and Valor, of what the follie and wickedness of som men have so far ruined,

leav nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Mee, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions from men's words and actions have already given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deserted Mee, or engaged against Mee, through the Artifice and hypocrisy of their Leaders, whose inward horror will bee their first Tormentor; nor will they escape Exemplarie judgments.

For those that loved Mee, I praie God they may have no misse of Mee, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may bee satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of anie defects in their Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I believ You will finde them truly Zealous, to repaie, with interest, that loyalty and love to You, which was Due to Mee.

In sum, what good I intended, do You Perform, when God shall give You Power: much

much good I have offered, more I purpose to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and Vizards will fall off apace; This Mask Religion on the face of Rebellion (for now plainly appear's, since My Restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, was pretended) will not long serve to hide men's deformities.

Happie times, I hope, attend You, where Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicitie.*

I praise God bless you and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyaltie perfected by My destruction, let My memorie ever with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You: and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scripture and Government of them, but also with the Suffering manie indignities and untimely Death for them; while I studied to preserve the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown,

the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope hee yet will restore Me to My Rights. I cannot despair either of his Mercie, or of My People's love and pittie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His MAJESTIE'S closer imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.*

AS I have leasure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence, which give's Me the space, but Man's crueltie, that give's Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortalitye, which lie's upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other men's ambitions,

bitious, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envie, or enmitie against Mee make's their own lives seem deadlie to them, while I enjoie anie part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death beeing an eclips, which oft happ'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allaid: for, although My death at present may justly bee represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I bleſs God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death against them; which, as to the immaturitie, injustice, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of Religion,

Religion; the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering, by a livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which as I have suffered manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroie, first, the love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed, they have left Mee but little of life, and

and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee; having bereaved Mee of all those worldlie comforts, for which life it self seem's desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Caus, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improovment of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Christian valor, it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that Heroick greatness of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this bodie; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperitie move's higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may bee terrible, like *Sampson's* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overcome the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or pcevishness, while they may yet convers with God.

Tha

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the mid'st of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects beeing helpless Spectators, My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwise, as to man's crueltie; however, I despair not of God's infinite Mercie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice; but yet under God's sole custodie and disposal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to laie them out to Mee. I confess it is not easie for Mee to contend with those manie horrors of death, wherewith God suffer's Mee to bee tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (beeing more solemnly cruel) will, it may bee, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockerie of Justice, to the crueltie of Malice: That I may bee destroyed, as with greater
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pomp and artifice, so with les pittie, it will bee but a necessarie policie to make My death appear as an Act of Justice don by Subject's upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man invest's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee; much les against Mee: and who, beeing sworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and man to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjurie.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for anie man to have his Enemies to bee Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subject's against their Sovereign: wherein those, who have had the chiefeft hand, and are most guiltie of contriving the Publick Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believ, in their own consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing make's mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguis at first the monstrousness of their de-

signs,

signs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, bee cast out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must bee, that I would not either destroye My self with the Church and State by My Word; or not suffer them to do it, unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which som men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will bee don: I doubt not but My Innocencie will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My onely Judg; whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the Eminencie of his Power and Majestic above them; but also for that singular Care and Protection, which hee hath over them: who knowe's them to bee exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will hee suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

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I am

I am confident they will finde Avenger of My death among themselvs: the injurie I have susteined from them shall bee first punished by them, who agree'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee.

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of My blood shall make them think no wait better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions, following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone (who onely could) hath manie waies pleaded My cause, not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacie in sin was their onely securitie: who have caus'd to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroye them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can
both

both forgive them, and praie for them; that God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seem's to bee their onely Rule, their power the Measure, and their success the Exactor of what they pleas to call Justice; while they flatter themselvs with the Fancie of their own safetie by My Danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I praie not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting Mee, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to My death, are embriued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without anie pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becom's a Christian toward his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I
am

am content to lose, when God see's fit by their hands to take it from Mee; whose Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompens what ever by man's injustice hee pleased to deprive Mee of.

The glorie attending My death will far surpass all I could enjoie, or conceiv in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God has mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the shadows of My earthlie Kingdoms among men for the substance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of My Destroyers wil sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against Mee; I am perswaded I am happie in the Judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not only Pittie and Praie for Mee, but would bee content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

These know, how to excuse My failings, as a man; and yet to retain, and paie their duty to Mee as their King; there beeing no Religious necessitie binding anie Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment

of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believ, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp Convictions, and som remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Mee in the Measure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoie their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretence of paring other's nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefe strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may bee like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine Justice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worst-used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Mee, the Church, and State.

My chiefe comfort in death consist's in My Peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Mee and My causeless enemies: where, I doubt not, but, his righteous judgment

judgment will confute their fallacie, who from worldlie success (rather like Sophists, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (wee know oft permit's manie events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approve's.

I am confident, the Justice of My Cause, and clearness of My Conscience before God, and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's decision, as their successes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that, many times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness & oppression of the design. The prosperous windes, which oft fill the sails of Pirates, do not justifie their Piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more contentment and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of the Crown, the just libertie of My Subject's, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had, with the greatest advantages of suc-

cess, over-born them all; as som men have now evidently don, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shal more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it must bee so) then they can give it to Mee, whose hands are unjustly & barbarously lifted up against Mee.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, where-with these desire I might still contend.

I shall bee more then Conqueror through Christ enabling Mee, for whom I have hitherto suffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall bee raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; And, although death bee the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of other's sins, as men, both against God and Mee;

Mee; yet, as I hope, My own sins are so remitted, that they shall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of My destruction.

The Trophies of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee.

Though their sin bee Prosperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned: Both which I praie God they may obtain; that My temporal death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by God's just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Mee over-board; though it bee verie strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My enemies' crueltie cannot prevent My Preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Bodie; of whose salvation while some of them have themselvs seemed, and taught others

others to Despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much Desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Mee even the assistance of anie of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us; and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to bee dead to our selvs, and live in thee; then by living in our selvs to bee deprived of thee.

O make the manie bitter Aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt bee with Mee, I shall neither fear, nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with

with Mee as a Man; make Mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou My Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slaicst Mee yet thou hast encouraged Mee to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favor from Mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from Mee, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to Mee.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discover's, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire My destruction.

O shew Mee the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of their's.

Thou givest Mee leave as a man to praise, this cup may pass from Mee; but thou hast taught Mee as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not My will, but thine bee don.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly removing mine into thine: let not the desire of life in Mee bee so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will, in either life or death.

As I believ thou hast forgiv'n all the evils of My life, so I hope thou wilt save Mee from the terrors of My death.

Make Mee content to leave the world's nothing, that I may come really to enjoye all in thee who hast made Christ unto Mee in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Thus

Though My Destroyers forget their Dutie to thee and Mee; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to bee Merciful to them.

For what profit is there in My blood, or in their gaining My Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted My just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against My self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou mad'st thy Son a Saviour to manie that crucified Him, while at once he suffered Violently by them, and yet Willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood bee heard for My Murderers, louder then the crye of Mine against them.

Prepare them for thy Mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Mee, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against Mee chiefly tempt's them to use all extremities against Mee.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to Mee as verie fals, so verie cruel: who, pretending to preserve Mee, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitful men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion, and My charitie.

S

And

*And when thou makest inquisition for My blood,
O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with
the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel
may pass over them.*

*Though they think My Kingdoms on earth too
little to entertain at once both them and Mee; yet
let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite Mercie
at last receiv both Mee and My enemies:*

*When, beeing reconciled to thee in the blood of
the same Redeemer, wee shall live far above
these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal
enmities.*

*When their hands shall bee heaviest, and cruellest
upon Mee, O let Mee fall into the arms of thy tender
and eternal Mercies.*

*That what is cut off of My life, in this miserable
moment, may bee repaired in thy ever-blessed
Eternitie.*

*Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for My
eyes have seen Thy salvation.*

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

FINIS.

PRAIERS,

Used by His

MAJESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor Fuxon bishop of
LONDON immediately before
His Death.

Also a Letter from the PRINCE.

A Praier in time of Captivitie.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to
whom nothing is so great, that it
may resist; or so small, that it is
contemned; look upon My Misfe-
rie with thine eye of Mercie, and let thine in-
finite Power vouchsafe to limit out som pro-
portion of deliverance unto Mee, as to Thee
shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie,
O Lord, triumph over Mee, and let My faults
by Thy hand bee corrected; and make not
My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Ju-
stice:

stice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this bee the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions; if this ingrateful bondage bee fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart bee thus to bee broken; O Lord, I yeeld unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Mee suffer: Onely thus much let Mee crave of Thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, bee accepted of, since it even proceed's from Thee) that, by Thy goodness which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer som beam of Thy Majestie so to shine in My minde, that I, who acknowledg it My Noblest Title to bee Thy Creature, may still, in My greatest Afflictions, depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie bee the exercise, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power bee to My destruction. And if it bee Thy will that they more and more vex Mee with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carrie a pure minde, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption; yet with that humble Confidence which may best pleas Thee: so that at the last I may com to Thy eternal Kingdom through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ.
Amen.

Another

Another Praier.

A Lmighty and most merciful Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthie servant, who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthie to stand before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holie and eternal God! for as in sin I was conceived and born; so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting manie Duties I ought to do, and committing manie Vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of Thy heavie Displeasure: as for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to com, if Thou should'st deal with Mee according to My deserts. I confess, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compassion (which never fail's) which is the caus that I have not been long ago consumed: but with Thee there is Mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of
Thy

(4)

Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou would'st not enter into judgment with Thy servant, nor bee extreme to mark what is done amiss, but bee Thou merciful unto mee, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for mee. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins; but also to purge My heart by Thy holie Spirit, from the dross of My natural corruption: and as Thou dost add daies to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have past this mortal life, I may bee partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

*A Praier and Confession made in and for
the times of Affliction.*

Almighty and most merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodness that admit's our imperfect Praiers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us anie hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Dutie to confess our sins freely unto Thee. and, of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so

(5)

much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given mee, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to bee shed by a fals pretended waie of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong waie of Thy Worship, to bee set up in Scotland? and injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldlie wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My praiers faultie: Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My praiers, that thou maiest clear the waie for Thine own Mercies; to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to My deserved afflictions. In the meantime give mee Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations; and a Discerning spirit, to chuse what is best for Thy Church and People, which Thou hast committed to My Charge. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Praier

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most merciful Father; though My sins are
 manie and grievous, that I may rather expect
 the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance;
 as to free Mee from My present great danger; yet
 O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy world,
 and Thou never failest to reliev all those who with
 humble and unfained repentance com to Thee for
 succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish My
 transgressions, to despair of thy heavenlie favour;
 wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestie
 that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but
 also free Mee out of the hands, and protect Me
 from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy
 wrath against My hainous Offenses will not other-
 waies bee satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall un-
 der My present afflictions, Thy will shall bee done; yet
 with humble Importunitie, I do and shall never cease
 to implore the assistance of Thy heavenlie Spirit;
 that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not
 suffer through My weakness or want of courage.
 O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties
 of My Minde, that with cleareness I may shew
 forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody
 Trial; that so My sufferings here may not onely
 glorifie Thee; but likewise bee a furtherance to My
 salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Fa-
 ther, for his sake who suffered for Mee, even Jesus
 Christ the Righteous, Amen.

F I N I S.

! fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur fleur !

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from
the PRINCE to the KING; Dated
from the HAGUE, *Jan. 23. 1648.*

SIR!

HAVING no means to com to the knowledg of
Your Majestie's present condition, but such
as I receiv from the Prints, or (which is as un-
certain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour
to wait upon Your Majestie; and to bring Mee an
account of it: that I may withal assure Your Ma-
jestic, I do not onely praie for Your Majestic ac-
cording to my Dutie; but shall alwaies bee readie to do
all which shall bee in My power, to deserv that
blesing which I now humbly beg of Your Majestic
upon

SIR,

Hague, Jan. 23.
1648.

Your MAJESTIE's most humble
and most obedient Son and
Servant,

CHARLS.

The Supercription was thus,

For the King.

Mundaie 29th Januarie, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING's Speech to the Ladie Elisabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the day before His death.

His Children beeing com to meet Him, Hee gave His blessing to the Ladie Elisabeth; and bad her remember to tell her Brother James, whenever shee should see him, That it was his Father's last desire, that hee should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother onely, but bee obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart, you forget this: No (said shee) I shall never forget while I live: and, pouring forth abundance of tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon His Knee, said, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Father's Head; (upon which words the Child looked verie stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I saie, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I saie, You must not bee a King, so long as your Brothers, Charles and James, do live; For they will cut off your Brother's Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off your Head too at the last: and therefore I charge you not bee made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will bee torn in pieces first. When falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth's own Hand.

What the King said to mee the nine and twentieth of Jan. 1648, beeing the last time I had the happines to see Him; Hee told mee, Hee was glad I was com, & although Hee had not time to saie much, yet somewhat Hee had to saie to mee, which Hee had not to another, or leav in writing; because Hee feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to mee. Hee wished mee not to grieve and torment my self for Him; for that would bee a glorious death that Hee should die; it beeing for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, & for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. Hee bid mee read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politie, and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher, which would ground mee against Poperie. Hee told mee, Hee had forgiv'n all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers & Sisters to forgive them. Hee bid mee tell my Mother, That His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should bee the same to the last. Withal, Hee commanded mee and my Brother to bee obedient to Her. And bid mee send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after Hee had giv'n mee His Blessing, I took my leav.

Further, Hee commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most fals to Him, and to those that gave them power, and Hee feared also to their own souls: And desired mee not to grieve for Him, for Hee should die a Martyr, and that Hee doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that Wee should bee all happier, then Wee could have expected so have been, if Hee had lived: With manie other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elisabeth.

Another Relation from the Ladie Elisabeth.

The King said to the Duke of Gloucester, that Hee would saie nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: Hee told him, that Hee heard the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if hee regarded the welfare of his Soul; for hee had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and hee would provide for him.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

So fall's that statelie Cedar: while it stood,
That was the onely Glorie of the Wood:
Great CHARLS, thou earthlie God, Celestiall Man,
Whose life, like other's, though it were a Span;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heav'nlie Virtues Angels should rehers;
It is a theme too high for humane Vers.
Hee that would know Thee right then, let him looke
Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if hee do,
Hee'l finde thee King, & Priest, and Prophet too,
And sadly see our loss; and, though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hersh,
Though there were neither Monument nor Vers,
Thy Suffrings & Thy Death let no man see
It was Thy Glorie, but the Kingdom's Shame.

J. H.

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὡς Θεῶν, Πατριῶν ἡ Νόμων, ὅχ' ἀν-
 ἔκλειπτον ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μ' ἐπιπλεν χερσὶν ἀλατίῃ.

FINIS.

For Mr. *Alexander Henderson.*

His Majesties first Papers.

Mr. Henderson;

Know very well what a great disadvantage it is for Me, to maintaine an Argument of Divinity with so able and learned a man as your self, it being your, not My profession; which really was the cause that made me desire to hear some learned Man argue My Opinion with you; of whose abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an error, for want of having all which could be said, laid open unto me: For indeed, My humour is such, that I am still partiall for that side, which I imagine suffers for the weaknesse of those that maintaine it; alwayes thinking that equall Champions would cast the ballance on the other part; yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you in it, but treating you as my Physician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; only I thought fit to warn you, lest if you, (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be faine (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was blest with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluab^{le} happineſſe to Me, all his days, and among all his cares for My education, his chief was to ſettle Me right in Religion; in the true knowledge of which, he made himſelfe ſo eminent to all the world, that, I am ſure, none can call in queſtion the brightneſſe of his Fame, in that particular, without ſhewing their own ignorant baſe malice: He it was, who laid in Me the

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the grounds of Christianity, which to this day have been constant in; so that whether the worthiness of My Instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been settled in My principles, it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easy work to make me alter them; and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to St. Pauls rule, Rom. 14. 22) been happy in *Not condemning My self, in that thing which I allow.* Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present, ferable distractions.

No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of England, than that it was done (according to the Apostles defence Acts 24. 18.) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult* but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I receive to have only the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made me alwaies confident that the work was very perfect, as to essentials; which number Church Government being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if their had been cause, which opinion of mine, was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universall custom of the primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of a lawful Prebend, & then, how the Sacraments can be duly administered, is easy to judge: These are the principall Reasons which make me believe that Bishops are necessary for the Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My consent for their expulsion out of *England*; but I have another obligation, that to My particular, is a no less tie of Conscience, which is, My Coronation

Oath: Now if (as St. Paul saith, Rom. 14. 23.) *He that doubts is damned if he eat, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to My peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My selfe?*

Now consider, ought I not to keep My self from presumptions sins? and you know who says, *what doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soule?* Wherefore My constant maintenance of Episcopacy in England, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, should be rather commended than wondered at; My Conscience directing Me to maintaine the laws of the Land, which being only My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *what warrant there is in the word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience, or to make him alter Laws against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My judgement in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me, to be constant to the Grounds which the King My Father taught Me.

Newcastle May 29.

1646.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons first Paper.

S I R,

1. IT is your Majesties Royall goodnesse, and not My merit, that hath made your Majesty to conceive any opinion of My abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your Majesty) ought

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ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties satisfaction. And this intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modest expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the University. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cause) have undertaken alone; and which seldom or never has proved an effectually way, for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquish their former Tenents, *Dum res transit à iudicio in affectum*, witness the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves about the matter now in hand, these many years past.

2. Sir, when I consider your Majesties education under the hands of such a Father; the length of time wherein your Majesty hath been settled in your principles of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in privat and publick, especially of late at Oxford, filled your Majesties ears for the Divine right thereof; your Coronation oath, and divers State reasons which your Majesty doth not mention, doe not wonder, nor think it any strange thing that your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Ioannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable reasons (which no rationally man will contradict) That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false, much less is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will, or at the pleasure of another.

2. It is a true saying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quod specificationem*

okem, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter: but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise than my reason teacheth me. Yet Sir, I hope your Majesty will acknowledg, (for your paper professeth no less) that according to the saying of *Ambrose*, *Non est pudor ad meliora transire*, it is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperour *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) allegeth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the *Roman* Empire, and from the laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the ancient Pagan profession of the *Romans*, against the embracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jewes for *Moses* against *Christ*; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy itself, against the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against the change now, than they had in former times.

3. But your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is *Petitio Principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the Question; and I confesse it were so, if there can be no reason brought for a Reformation or Change; your Majesty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the Reforming power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wisht that Religion where there is need, were alwaies reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, not left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Iacob* reform his owne Family, *Moses* destroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Judah* reformed the Churches in their time: but that such reformation

ought in all duty to be improved for your Majesties satisfaction. And this intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modest expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of Episcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the University. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majesties purpose to have the Question disputed by Divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cause) be undertaken alone; and which seldom or never has proved an effectuall way, for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquish their former Tenents, *Dum res transit à iudicio in affectum*, witness the Polemicks between the Papists and us, and among our selves about the matter now in hand, these many years past.

2. Sir, when I consider your Majesties education under the hands of such a Father; the length of time wherein your Majesty hath been settled in your principles of Church-Government; the Arguments which have continually in privat and publick, especially of late at Oxford, filled your Majesties ears for the Discovery of the right thereof; your Coronation oath, and divers State reasons which your Majesty doth not mention, doe not wonder, nor think it any strange thing that your Majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Joannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable reasons (which no rationall man will contradict) That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false, much less is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will, or at the pleasure of another.

2. It is a true saying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*.

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mation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Asato* away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect for *Jehofa* but removed the high places, yet was his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* brake the brazen Serpent, and *Josiah* destroyed Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this blame. *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too well known that the Reformation of K. Hen. 8. was most imperfect in the Essentials of Doctrine, Worship, and Government: And although it proceeded to some degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the Head was changed, *Dominium* *Dominium*, and the whole limbs of the Antichristian Hierarchy retained, upon what snares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchanting of the Clergy, I need not expresse. It was a hardening of *Romanorum Malleus* Grosted of Lincoln, T. Reformation was not to be expected, *Nisi in ore glau* *truentandi*: yet this I may say, that the Laodicean lukewarmnesse of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occasion of more Schism and Separation than ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other Churches, which God did blesse with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for your Majesty, that to your comfort and everlasting fame the praise of godly *Josiah* may be yours; which yet will be no dispraise to your Royal Father, or *Edward* the sixth; or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having so favorable opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your Royall hands. My soul trembleth to think and to foresee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither use the words of *Asterdani*, *Esth.* 4. 14. nor what *Savonarola* told another

ther Church, because I hope better things from your Majesty.

4. To the Argument brought by your Majesty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they bin all about you, could more briefly, and yet so fully and strongly have expressed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to the constant universall practice of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence as by the alteration of it, we should deprive our selves of the lawfulness of Priesthood* (I think your Majesty means a lawful Ministry) and then how the Sacraments can be administered is cause to judge.] I humbly offer these considerations: First, what was not in the times of the Apostles, cannot be deduced from them: We say in Scotland, it cannot be brought But, that is not the Ben; but (not to insist now in a Liturgy, and things of that kinde) there were no such Hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apostles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sun-beam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apostles intending to set down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occasion, but of set purpose, do neither expresse nor imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath power over other Pastors, although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly exprest the office, gifts, and duties of the meanest Officers, such as Deacons, 3. That in the Ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautifull, and divine order and subordination; one kinde

kinde of Ministers both ordinary and extraordinary, being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apostles first, the Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot finde in Offices of the same kinde, that one hath a priority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apostle above other Apostles (unless in morall respects) no Evangelist above other Evangelists; of Deacon above other Deacons; why then Pastor above other Pastors? In all other sorts of Ministers ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, onely in the office of Pastor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of Ministry, which are commonly called, *The parts of Order and Jurisdiction*, are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop: And that, *Matth. 15. 16, 17.* the gradation in matter Discipline or Church-censures, is from one, to two or more; and if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church; he saith not tell it to the Bishop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one were he never so eminent. If these considerations do not satisfie, your Majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the practice of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papists for such traditions as no Orthodox Divines will admit. The Law and Testimony must be the Rule. We can have no certaine knowledge of the practice universall of the Church for many years; *Lucius* the prime Historian confesseth so much: the learned *Iosephus Scaliger* testifieth, That from the end of the *Acts* of the Apostles untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Ecclesiastical Au-

thors

thors about Church matters. It is true, *Dionysius* sought the preheminance in the Apostles times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times some puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weaknesse, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government, but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majesty will deny the lawfulness of a Ministry, and the due administration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Diocesan Bishops, sith it is not onely manifest by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy, do confesse, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptism administered by a private person, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter although not ordained by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majesties Coronation Oath; I confesse, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a point of Religion) much tendernesse is required: and farre bee it from us, who desire to observe our own Solemn Oath, to presse your Majesty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before your Majesties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger discourse) that although no humane authority can dispense with an Oath, *Quia Religio praevalens est iuri* *ad forum* *Divinum*; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaseth: As when we swear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaseth to be

be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formall cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus; sublato relativo, tollitur Correlativum*. Or when any Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oathes from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliament of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, your Majesties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conscience to the observance of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopall Government in Scotland, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of England. And I assure my self, that your Majesty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, although both Houses of Parliament should find a' teration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) you should lose your selfe, and your Power and Crown, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If your Majesty still object, *the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutabl*, it doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

3. I have but one word more concerning your duty to your Royall Father, and teacher of happy memory, with which your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That his Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline of the Church of Scotland, that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospell, than the Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of England, and

that he conceived the Prelates to favour of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghost now speak to your Majesty) He would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, than that they perish alone. The Lord give your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

For Mr. Alex. Henderson.

A Reply to His Answer to My first Paper,

June 6. 1646.

His Majesties second Paper.

Mr. Henderson.

If it had been the Honour of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you, (whose Answer to My former paper is sufficient, without further proofs, to justify My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectually; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know, how My self may be best satisfied, for certainly My taste cannot be guided by another mans palate, &c indeed I will say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *persons* or *books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction: The foreseeing of which, made Me at first (for the saving of Time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Con-

2 Concerning your second Section, I were much to blame, if I should not submit to that saying of Saint *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found lesse ingenuous than you shew yourself to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I shall not be ashamed to change for the better, so I must see that it is better before I change otherwise, inconstancy in this were both sin and shame & remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that no mans reason can be commanded by another mans will.

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other do for I do not understand, how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of Reformation, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawfull, those having been all by the Regal Authority; and because *Henry the eighths* Reformation was not perfect, will it prove that of King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth* to be imperfect? I believe a new mood and figure may be found out to form a *Syllogisme*. whereby to prove that: but however you are mistaken; for, no man who truly understands the *English Reformation*, will charge it from *Henry the Eighth*; for he onely gave the occasion: it was his Son who began, and Queen *Eliz.* that perfected it; nor did I ever aver, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more than you can prove that God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the negligence of Princes: for, you know, there is much difference between Permission and Approbation: But all this time find no Reasons (according to your promise) for a Reformation or Change (I mean since Queen *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying, it is well you come off it, with [yet this I must say]

say] for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justifie that bloody ungodly saying: and for your comparing our Reformation here to the *Laodicean Lukewarmnesse* proved by Complaints, Grievings, &c. all that doth, and but unhandsomely, *Petere Principium*; nor can Generalls satisfie Me; for, you must first prove, that those men had reason to complain those Churches to be grieved, and, how we were truly the causers of this Schism and separation: as for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of My two main arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; it is I must make good the Affirmative, for I believe a Negative cannot be proved: instead of which, if you had made appear the practice of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*, you had done much; for I dare averre that this Government was never practised before *Calvins time*; the affirmative of which, I leave you to prove; My task being to shew the lawfulness and succession of *Episcopacy*, and as I believe, the necessity of it: for doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or another give Me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some Learned man, whom I can trust, to find out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the fallaciousnesse of My Argument (to My knowledge) it was never My practice, nor do I confesse to have begun now: For, if the practice of the *Primitive Church*, and the universall consent of the Fathers, be not a convincing Argument, when the interpretation of Scripture is doubtfull, I know nothing; For, if this be not; then of necessity the interpretation of

of private spirits must be admitted: the which contradicts St. Peter, 2 Pet. 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all and will (if not prevented) bring these Kingdoms to confusion: and to say, that an argument is ill, because the *Papists* use it, or, that such a thing is good, because it is the custome of some of the *Reformed Churches*; cannot weigh with Me, untill you prove them to be infallible, or to maintain *no Truth*: and how *Presbyters* ambition (who directly opposed the Apostle *John*) can be an Argument against *Episcopacy*, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure the *Allies*; as you must prove, before I confesse it, that *Presbyters without a Bishop may lawfully ordain Presbyters*: and as for the Administration of Baptism, as I think none will say, that a Woman can lawfully or duly Administer it, though when done it be so none ought to do it, but a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be absolutely necessary for the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of Oaths in generall, and their severall obligations, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in question, to be guided by you own *Rule*, which is [as Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of them to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire, or sent, the Obligation ceaseth.] Now, it must be known to whom this Oath hath reference, and to whose benefit the Answer is clear, only to the *Church of England*; as by the Record will be plainly made appear; and you must mistake in alleging, that the two *House of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can have this *Disobligatory power*, for (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make clearly appear to you, that this Church never

submit, nor was subordinate to them; and that it was only the King and *Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* meerly serving to help to give the *civil Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is only the *Church of England* (in whose favour I took this Oath) that can release me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully assembled) shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem My self so.

8. To your last, concerning the King My Father, of happy and famous Memory, both for his *Piety* and *Learning*; I must tell you, that I had the happiness, to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you, not to be too confident in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare say, should his *Ghost now speak*, he would tell you, that a *bloody Reformation was never lawfull*, and was warranted by Gods word, and that *Preces & lacryme sunt Arma Ecclesie*.

9. To conclude; having replied to all your Paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given Me to Answer to My last *Query*; it may be you are (as *Chambers* sayes) like the people of *England*, *What they will like they never understand*: But in earnest, that *Query* is so pertinent to the purpose in hand, that it will much serve for My satisfaction; and besides it may be usefull for other things.

Newcastle; June 6. 1646.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. Alex. Hendersons second Paper.

1 R.
The smaller the encouragements be, in relation to the successe, (which how small they are, your Majesty

Majesty well knowes:) the more apparent, and hope the more acceptable will my obedience be that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties command: yet while I consider, that way of man is not in himself, nor is it in man walketh, to direct his owne steps; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in your Majesties behalfe, unto God that he sendeth prayer, I have no reason to despair of a blessed successe.

1. I have been averse, from a Disputation of Divines, 1. For saving of time; which the present urgency and extremity of affairs, make more than ordinarily precious; While *Archimides* at *Syracuse* drawing his figures and circlings in the sand, *Marcellus* interrupted his Demonstration. 2. Because a common result of Disputes of this kinde, answerable to prejudicate opinions of the parties; is rather *Veritas* than *Verity*; while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they study more to overcome their adverse party, than the overcome of Truth, although this be the glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me as expected by Me. I never judged so meanly of my Cause, nor so highly of my self, as to venture it on such weaknesse. Much more might be spoken to this purpose; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majesty with what is contained in the second Section; but that your Majesty will no more insist upon *Edicts* *prescription of time*, &c. which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and are no ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point believed: although it be true that the most

men make these and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith: and Evidence that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a preface to so Thorny a Theam, as your Majesty hath brought me upon.

1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a Generall Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, so that scarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a generall Councell is necessary; but, because that can hardly be obtained, severall Kingdoms (which we see was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reforme themselves and that by the authority of their Prince, and Magistrates: if the Prince or supreme Magistrate, be unwilling, then may the Inferiour Magistrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own sphere; and if the light shine upon all, or the Major part, they may, after all other means assayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or spoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majesty, or to the Kings, and supreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they should draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the learned, to dispute about other matters, than the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind your Majesty hath suffered and lost more, than will easily be restored to your self or your posterity, for a long time. It is not denied but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes: *Quibus--deficientibus*, it comes to the inferiour Magistrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it descendeth to the body of the people; supposing that there is a necessity of Reformation, and that by no means

means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that such a Reformation, is more imperfect, in respect of the instruments, and manner of proceeding, yet for the most part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end, I cite the examples of old Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the second way of perfection, except that of *Josiah*. Concerning the saying of *Grostead*, whom the *Cardinals* at *Rome* confess to be a more Godly man, than any of themselves, it was his complaint, and prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartial Witnesses, *Lee* and *Bilson*, both famous English Bishops, to prove that the Tumults and troubles raised in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the disputes opposing of the Reformation, both of Doctrine and Discipline, as an Hereticall innovation; and not to be ascribed to the Nobility, or people, who were the Instruments of it; intending and seeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and settling of the truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in King *Henry* the eighth's time, it was not finished by Queen *Elizabeth*: the first stirred the humours of the diseased Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reason to bless God for both) did purge it out perfectly: This perfection is reserved for your Majesty. Where it is said, *that all this time I have no Reasons, for a further change*; the fourth Section of my last paper, hath many hints of Reasons against the present Government, with an offer of more or clearer of those; which your Majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men have observed

many defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the Question now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Christ* and the *Apostles*; which they, at least cannot deny, who profess *Church-Government* to be mutable and ambulatory; and such were the greater part of *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* in *England*, contenting themselves with the *Constitutions* of the Church, and the *Authority* and *Munificence* of *Princes*, till of late, that some few have pleaded it to be *In re Divino*: That, the *English Reformation* hath not perfectly purged out the *Roman Leaven*; which is one of the Reasons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither *Papist* nor *Reformed*, but of a Lukewarm temper, betwixt the two: That it hath depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil policy: That it hath added many Church Offices, higher and lower, unto those instituted by the Son of God; which is as unlawfull as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine institution: And other the like, which have moved some to apply this saying to the Church of *England*, *multum in perfectionem pervenerint; nisi jam se pervenisse crederent*.

4. In my Answer to the first of your Majesties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove, *That a Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same in Scripture*: from which, by necessary consequence I did infer the Negative; Therefore, no difference in Scripture between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*; the one name signifying, *Industria Curie*, *pastoralis*; the other, *Sapientia Maturitatem*, *sacra Rea*. And whereas your Majesty averres, *That the Presbyterian Government was never practised, Before Calvins time*; Your Majesty knowes, the

the common Objection of the *Papists* against the reformed Churches; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luthers* time? One part of the common Answer is, That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture. The same I affirm of Presbyterian Government: As for the proving of this, the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, have made manifest, that the Primitive Christian Church at *Ierusalem* was governed by a Presbytery: While they shew, First, That, the Church at *Ierusalem* consisted of more Congregations than one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apostles, and other Preachers in the Church, and from the Diversity of Languages among the Believers. 2. That all those congregations, were under Presbyterian government, because they were, under one Government, one Church, *Acts* eleven, verse twenty two, twenty six. And because that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. Which were the Elders of that Church, and did meet together to do Acts of Government; And the Apostles themselves, in that meeting, *Acts* 15. acted not as Apostles, but as Elders: stating the Question, debating it, in the ordinary way of disputation; and having, by search of Scripture, found the will of God, they concluded, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us*: which in the judgment of the Learned, cannot be spoken by any assembly, upon like evidence in Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government took place in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, &c. in the times of the Apostles; after them, for many years, when one of the Presbytery was made *Episcopus præsces*, even then, *omni Presbyterorum Consilio gubernabantur*, saith *Jerome* & *Episcopus magis consuetudine, quam Institutionis Divinae veritate. Presbyteris esse majores*, &c.

Commune debere Ecclesiam regere.

5. Far be it from me to think such a thought, as that your Majesty did intend any fallacy; in your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to distinguish between *Intentio operantis*, & *Conditio operis*, so may we in this case consider the difference between *Intentio Argumentis*, & *Conditio Argumenti*. And where your Majesty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the Interpretations of private Spirits, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostle *St. Peter* and will prove to be of dangerous consequence; I humbly offer to be considered by your Majesty, what some of chief note among the *Papists* themselves have taught us, That the Interpretation of Scripture, and the Spirits whence they proceed, may be called private in a threefold sence. 1. *Ratione personæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. *Ratione modi & Medii*, when persons, although not private, use not the publick means which are necessary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. *Ratione finis*, when the interpretation is not proposed as Authentick to bind others, but is intended only for our own private satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apostle *Peter*; the third ought not to be censured: But that Interpretation which is Authentick, and of Supreme Authority, which even mans Conscience is bound to yeeld unto, is of an higher nature. And although the Generall Councell should resolve it, and the consent of the Fathers should be had unto it, yet there must alwaies be place left to the judgment of discretion, as *Davenant*, late Bishop of *Salisbury*, besides divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his book, *De Indice controversarum*; where also the power of Kings in matter of Religion, is

is solidly and unpartially determined. Two words only I adde; one is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Bishop having the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, will never be found in *prime Antiquity*. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichrist*, which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Question of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Christian Church, at, and since the beginning of the Reformation, have discovered many secrets, concerning the *Antichrist* and his *Hierarchy*, which were not known to former Ages: And even of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this last Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath so plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generations, and ungrateful toward those men, who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be instanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the *Mystery of Iniquity*, the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the Apostles themselves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards discovered; which two, brought forth the *great Mystery* of the Papacy at last.

6. Although your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them, and their actions, as, without Bishops, in your judgement they cannot have a lawfull Ministry, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments: Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion I did alledge what I purposed, your Majesty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop, may Or-

tain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism, administered by such a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptism administered by a private person, or a Midwife. Of the first, your Majesty calls for proof: I told before that in Scripture, it is manifest, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the prophetic, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*; so it is in the English Translation: and the word *Presbytery*, so often as it is used in the New Testament, always signifies the persons, and not the Office. And although the Offices of Bishop and Presbyter were distinct; yet doth not the Presbyter derive his power of Order, from the Bishop. The Evangelists were inferior to the Apostles; yet had they their power, not from the Apostles, but from CHRIST. The same I affirm of the 70 Disciples, who had their power immediately from CHRIST, no lesse than the Apostles had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred, That the Bishops have their power from the Pope, than that Presbyters have their power from Prelates. It is true, *Ierome* saith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the same place he proves from Scripture, that *Episcopus* & *Presbyter* are one and the same; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Bishop, he speaketh of the degenerated custome of his time. 2. Concerning Baptism, a private person may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it, and of the Eucharist; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unlesse it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a person made publick and clothed with authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptism, is begot by an other Errour, of the absolute Necessity of Baptism.

7. To that which hath been said, concerning your Majesties Oath, I shall adde nothing; not being willing

ling to enter upon the Question, of the subordination of the Church to the Civil power, whether the King, or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an headship as the kings of England hath claimed, and such a Supremacy as the 2 Houses of Parliament crave; with the appeals from the supreme Ecclesiasticall Iudicature to them as set over the Church, in the same line of Subordination, I do not only disclaim, upon such reasons to give my self satisfaction, although no man shall be more willing to submit to civill powers, each one in their own place, and unwilling to make any trouble than my self: only concerning the application of the Generalls of an Oath to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I receive not how the Clergy of the Church of England is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath. For, although they were esteemed to be the Representative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective; *Salus populi*, being *Suprema Lex* and to be principally intended. Your Majesty knew it was so in the Church of Scotland, where the Declaration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the consent of the Clergy, what Resolution can be expected in France, or Spain, or Italy? It is not to be expected, that the Pope, or the Latins will consent to their own ruine.

8. I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King, your Majesties Father of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majesty. I did onely produce, what was profest by him, before the World: And although *Prayers and Tears be the Armes of the Church*; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducing to Kings and Princes, to force the Church to put on Arms: Nor could I ever hear a reason, why a necessary Defensive War against unjust Violence is un-

ful, although it be joyned with offence and invasion which is intended for Defence, but so that Arms are laid down when the offensive war ceaseth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other side, was, in the nature thereof, Defensive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conscience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now but without forcing of my Conscience, to speake of. Our Conscience may be said to be forced; either by our selves, or by others. By our selves: 1. When we stop the ear of our Conscience and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, *Ne si per suaseris, persuadebis*; which is no lesse than the resisting the Holy Ghost, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when they stop the mouth, and suppress the clamours of our Conscience; resolving rather to suffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, than to make profession of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we fear our Conscience, as with an hot Iron, that it becommeth senseless; which is the punishment of the former: unto which is opposed, the truly tender Conscience; such as *Isaiah* had, *2 Kings* 22. 19 Again, 1. Our Conscience is said to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it self evil and unlawful; which if it admit, against our own Conscience, we sin two wayes? one is, *by doing that which is in it self evil and unlawful*; the other is, *by doing it against a dictate of Conscience*, which is a contempt of God, whose Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it self good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of Conscience we judge it to be evil & unlawful in this case if we do not that which is prest upon us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawful: And if we do it, we sin, because we do against our Conscience. Which in this case bindeth; but obligeth not: and yet there is a way to escape out of this Labyrinth, it being re-

pugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a necessity of sinning upon any man: The only way is, to lay aside a Conscience, it being a part of the Old Law which we are commanded to put off; otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our error, we rather do violence to our conscience, than suffer violence from others. The application for Answering the Quare, I leave to your Majesty.
Newcastle, June 17. 1646.

For Master Alexander Henderson.

His MAJESTIES third Paper.

1. **I**f were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie preambles with you: For, it is Truth I seek, and neither Praise nor Victory, therefore I shall not insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to My own satisfaction; in order to which I desire the assistance of some Divines; whereupon I will insist further, save only to wish, that you may not (as I have known many men do) lose time, by being mistaken in the way to save it, wherein I have only sought to disburden My self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My Education and reason; but I remember, that another mans will, is at least, as weak a ground, to build My faith upon, as My former education.

3. In this their are two points; First, concerning the Reforming power, then anent the English Reformation: For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly

which before you did but darkly mention; wherein I shall mainly differ with you, untill you shall shew Me better reason: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a Generall Councell cannot be had, several Kingdoms may Reform themselves (which is learnedly and fully proved be the late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in his disputation against Fisher) but, that the inferior Magistrates or People (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no sufficient proof, to my judgment: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence submit; but as for your Examples, out of the Old Testament, in My mind, they rather make for, than against Me, all those Reformationes being made by Kings; and it is a good probable (though I will not say convincing) Argument, that if God would have approved of a popular reforming way, there were Kings of Judah and Israel sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by; but by the contrary; the 16. Chapter of Numbers shews clearly, how God disapproves of such courses: But I forget this assertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you, that this pretended power in the people must (as all others) either be directly: or els declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how soon you can do, I submit; otherwise you prove nothing: for the citing of private mens opinions) more than as they concur with the Generall consent of the Church in their time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that Rebels never wanted writers to maintaine their unjust actions; and though I much reverence Bishop Jewells memory, I never thought him unfallible; for Bilson I remember well what opinion the King my Father had of him for those

those Opinions, and how He shewed Him some favour in hope of his *Recantation*, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that Kinde) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point untill you shall prove this *position* by the Word of God (as I will *Regall Authority*) I shall think all *popular Reformation*, little better than *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no authority is lawfull but that which is either directly given, or at least, approved by God*. Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first reason you bring why Queen *Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because she took not away *Episcopacy*, the hints of reason against which *Government*, you say, I take no notice of now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, a *negative* (as I conceived could not be proved, and that it was for Me to prove the *affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yeeld the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with Books or such Men of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their brain: And so I must leave the particular untill I be furnished with means to put to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will: indeed your second well proved is most sufficient, which is, That the *English Church Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeith Archbishops and Bishops should have professed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking position*, (some particulars must not conclude the generall) which you must finde much better Arguments, than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church* and the *Authority and munificence of Princes*, or

will fall extreemly short: As for the *retaining of the Roman Leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the *Church discipline to the civil policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall doe well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than he named, and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for order of *Government*, not a new Officer, and so of the rest: and of this kinde I believe there are divers now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you finde a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be alwayes so) it is in the *Apostles time*; now I think to prove the *Order of Bishops* succeeded that of the *Apostles*, and that the name was chiefly altered in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our Saviour, (albeit in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is wel that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more than *Ensebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it: For, your former paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for Me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention: for because there were divers *Congregations* in *Ierusalem*; Ergo, what? are there not divers *Parishes* in one *Dio-* cesse? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour Order*

Orders for Acts of Government; what then? even these times do the *Deans* and *Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there is an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being, doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, &c. than you have for *Jerusalem*, it will gain ground on Me: As for Saint *Ierome*, it is well known that he was no great friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself; yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Fallacy*, though I should have had reason for saying what I did: but to your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you appeal to the *interpretation of Scripture*, and I appeal to the *practice of the Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, to be judge between us, Me thinks you should either finde a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shown, waving those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief of the interpretation by *private spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed; if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination and Jurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former foundations; (as for *Bishop Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto; but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take

to be a begging of the Question; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as well as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate in seeking to be *Pope*; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a multitude may be as dangerous as in one.

6. As I am no Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon necessity, which otherwayes are unlawful; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a particular Church (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that Church most, which comes nearest to the purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline, as I believe this doth. Now concerning Ordination, I had you prove that *Presbyters* without a *Bishop* might lawfully Ordain, which yet I conceive you have not done; for, 2 Tim. 1.6. it is evident, that Saint Paul was at *Timothies* Ordination; and albeit that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from Christ, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the twelve Apostles and the rest of the Disciples, which is set down by three of the Evangelists, whereof S. Mark calls it an Ordination, Mark 3. 15. and S. Luke says, And of them he chose twelve, &c. Luke 6. 13. onely S. Matthew doth but barely enumerate them by their name of distinction, Matth. 10. 1. I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none, are more particular. For the administration of *Baptisme*, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes

makes more for Me, than you : but I wil not enter upon new Questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you have done well to have omitted your instance: but; out of discretion I desire you to Collect your Answer out of last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my *Oath* be for the good of the Church *Collective*, therefore can I be dispenced withall by others then the *representative body*? certainly no more then the people can dispence with Me for them. *Oath* I took in their favour, without the two Houses of Parliament; and as for future Reformatiōs, I wil only tell you that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum*.

8. For the King My Fathers opinion, if it were to spend time (as I believe) needlessly, I could prove by living and written testimony, all and more, than I have said, for his perswasions in these points which now maintaine; and for your *Defensive War*; as I do acknowledge it is a great sinne, for a King to presse the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawful for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though *defensive*) against their *lawful Sovereign* against which no lesse proofs will make Me yeeld to Gods Word; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, Instances, as well as comparisōs, are dangerous.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quare* in My first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I did not doubt the lawfulness of it) but *force of Arguments* which, I conceive, it says little or nothing, unless (after My example) you referre me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the asking of a Question, after a fine discourse of the severall ways of perswading rather than forcing of Conscience: I

up this paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by long discourse; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

June 22. 1646.

C. R.

For His MAJESTY.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practice of the Church, July 2. 1646.

Mr. Alex. Henderfons third Paper.

HAVING in my former papers pressed the steps of your Majesties Propositions, and finding by your Majesties last Paper, controversies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majesties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming power*; The *Reformation of the Church of England*, The *difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter*; The *Warrants of presbyterian government*; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of publick Oathes*; The *forcing of Conscience*; and many other inferiour & subordinate questions, which are branches of those Maine Controversies: All which in a satisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more presuming Spirits, who either see no knots of difficulties or, can find a way rather to cut them asunder, than to unloose them: yet will I not use any Tergiversation; nor doe I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reasons thereof in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience

to your Majesties command, I have begun to doe already. Only Sir, by your Majesties favourable permission, for the greater expedition, and that the present velitations may be brought to some issue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle, and that which should have been, *inter præcognita*, I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the present controversie of Church polity; without which we will be lead into a Labyrinth, and want a thred to wind us out again. In your Majesties first paper, the *universal custome of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the second paper, Section the 5. The *Practise of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation of Scripture* is doubtfull; in your third paper, Section the 1. The *practise of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made Iudge; and I know that nothing is more ordinary in this Question, than to allege *Antiquity, perpetuall Succession, universall consent of the fathers, and the universall practise of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of Augustine, *Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec a concilio infirmum, sed semper retentum est, non, nisi Autoritate Apostolica, traditum rectissime creditur*. There is in this Argument at the first view, so much appearance of reason, that it may much work upon a modest mind: yet being well examined and rightly weighed it will be found to be of no great weight; for besides that the Major will never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocesan Bishop*, having sole power of Ordination and jurisdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintain that *Bishop and Presbyter are of one and the same order*; I shall humbly offer some few Considerations about the Major, because it hath been an inlet to many

ny dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obstruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. First, I desire it may be considered, that whiles some make two rules for defining controversies, the Word of God and Antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equall veneration) or, as the Papists call them, *Canonicall Authority, and Ecclesiasticall tradition*; and others, make *Scripture* to be the only Rule, and *Antiquity* the authentick Interpreter, the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater error: because the first setteth up a parallel, in the same degree with Scripture; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture: For the Interpretation of the Fathers shall be the Rule, and accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have such a sence; and thus, Men shall have Dominion over our Faith, against 2. Cor. 1. 24. Our Faith shall stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 Cor. 2. 5. and Scripture shall be of private interpretation; For the prophesie came not of old by the wil of man, 2 Pet. 1. 20. 22. *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jura Deo propitius esse debet*, saith Ierulian.

2. That the Scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifest from Scripture: The Levites gave the sence of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it self, *Neh. 8. 1.* Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true sence of Scripture, against the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Testimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat. 4.* and the Apostles, in their Epistles, used no other help but the diligent comparing of Prophetical writings; like as the Apostle Peter, will have us to compare the clearer light of the Apostles

Apostles, with the more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 *Per.* 1. 19. And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture itself. To this purpose amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of *Tertullian*, *Surge veritas; Scripturas tuas interpreta're, quam consuetudo non novit, nam si noscet, non esset*: if it knew Scripture it would be ashamed of it selfe, and cease to be any more.

4. That some errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of *Free-will* beginning at *Iustin Martyr*, continued to the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Augustine*, as the *Divine right of Episcopacy*, was proposed by others. The Error about the *Vision of God*, That the *Souls of the saints departed*, see not the face of God, Till the *Judgement of the great day*, was held by the Universall consent: The same may be said of the Error of the *Millenaries*; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present Question, the *Ancient* error of *Antichrist* and *Mystery of iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apostles. Many other instances might be brought to prove the *universal practice of the Church*, as were not warranted by the Apostles, as by the *Rites of Baptisme* and *Prayer*; and the forming up and drawing together the *Articles of that Creed*, that is called *Symbolum apostolicum*; the observation of many *Feasts* and *Fasts* both Anniversary and Weekly.

5. That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appear to be, for the

Primitive Church to have made a sudden defection from the Apostolicall purity: the people of Israel in the short time of *Moses* his absence on the Mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod* 32. soon after the death of *Iosuah*, and the Elders that had seen the great works which the Lord had done for Israel, there arose another generation after them, which did evil in the sight of the Lord, *Iudg.* 2. & 7. soon after the building of the Temple, and setting up of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worship of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had established the Kingdom he forsook the Law of the Lord, & all Israel with him, 2 *Chron.* 12. 2. And the Apostle says to the *Gallatians*, *Gallat.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are so soon removed unto another Gospel*: Why then shall we think it strange, that in the manner of Discipline, there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the Apostles? I know it is a common opinion, but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the Church which was nearest the times of the Apostles was the most pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the universall consent and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished, (it may be that both of these have dissented from the rest) many of the writings which we have under their names are Suppositions, and counterfeit, especially about Episcopacy which was the foundation of Papall Primacy: The Rule of *Augustine* fore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like considerations may be added; but these may be sufficient to prove that the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the

the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authentick interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a Grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by King *James* of happy memory, who often did professe that he did learne more of one page of *Iohn Calvin*, than of a whole Treatise of *Augustine*: Nor can there be any good reason, (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so farre preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner deified, and the other vilified: it is but a poore Reason that some give, *Fama mater sermorum*; and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If your Majesty be unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed to trouble your Majesty any more.

Newcastle, July 2. 1646.

For Mr. Alex. Henderson.

His MAJESTIES fourth Paper.

July 3. 1646.

I Shall very willingly follow the method you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive that My last Paper multiplies more controversies than My first gave occasion for, having been so farre from Augmenting the heads of our disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needless questions; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not, *may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in england*; and indeed I like

well, to begin with the settling of the Rule by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversy; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there I offer you a Iudge between us, or desire you to find out a better, which to My judgment you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate Mine) For, if you understand to have offered the Scripture, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it than My self; yet you must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the interpretation of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our Questions; as for example, I say you misapply that of 2 Cor. 1. 14. to Me, (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make other Men to have dominion over my Faith, when I make them only serve to approve My Reason; nor do I conceive how, 1 Cor. 2. 5. can be applyed to this purpose; For there St. Paul only shews the difference between Divine and Humane Eloquence, making no mention, of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint Peter does, 2. Pet. 1. 20. which I conceive makes for Me; for, since that no prophesie of Scripture is of any private interpretation: First, I infer that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for els, the Apostle would have omitted the word Private: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so a fortiori, that of the Catholick Church ought to be an authentick Judge, when Men differ: And it is a good Argument? because (Mat. 4. 4. 7. 10.) Scripture is best interpreted by it selfe, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawfully? certainely you cannot think: Thus having shewed you that we differ about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to doe so; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things

things, a Rule or a Judge between us, to determine our differences, or, at least, to make our Probations and Arguments Relevant; therefore evading, for this time, to answer your six considerations (not to assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting new Questions) I desire you only to shew Me a better than what I have offered to you.

Newcastle, July 3. 1646.

For Mr. Alexander Henderfon.

A particular Answer to Mr Alex. Henderfons, July 16. 1646.

HIS MAJESTIES fifth Paper.

UNTill you shall find out a fitter way to decide our Difference in Opinion concerning Interpretation of Scripture than the consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the Primitive Church, I cannot passe you My judgment anent those six considerations which you offered to invalidate those Authorities, tho I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention two rules for deciding controversies, and seek a most old way to combat them, as I think; For you alleage, that there is more attributed to them, than I believe you can prove, the consent of most learned Men (there being no Question, but there are alwayes some flattering expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*: besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellowes, should attribute more power to Presbyters, than is really due unto them, that therefore their just reverence and authority is diminished

So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the Interpretations of Fathers, is a most excellent strengthening to My opinion though others should attribute the Cause and Reason of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no Question, but that Scripture is the far best Interpreter of it selfe, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me and innumerable others, who yet unblamable have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you only intend to prove that Errors were alwayes breeding in the Church I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the universal practice of the Church with Error, I must say it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot justify your self, by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you must not alleage, that to be universally received, which was not as I dare say, that the Controversy about free will, was never yet decided, by Oecumoniall, or Generall Council; nor must you presume to call that an Error, which really the Catholick Church maintained (as in rights of Baptisme forms of Prayer, observations Feasts, Fasts, &c.) except you can prove it so by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the Apostles, but you must prove by their Doctrine, that such a thing was unlawfull, or else the practice of the Church is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Custome whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the Apostles Creed was made by them, (such reverence I bear to the Churches Tradition) untill other Authors be certainly found out.

I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was a good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any custom of the Catholick Church was erroneous, which was not contradicted by Orthodox, learned men, in the times of their first practice, as is easily perceived that those Defections were, (some of them may be justly called Rebellions) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible* (though I confesse it difficult) to come to the knowledge of the *Universal consent*, and practice of the *Primitive Church*, therefore I confesse a man ought to be carefull how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for Caution.

My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any Authority equall to the *Scriptures*; yet I do think the unanimous consent of the *Fathers* and the *univ[er]sal practice of the Primitive Church to be the best and Authentick interpreters of Gods Word*, and consequently the fittest Iudges between Me and you, where we differ, untill you shall find Me better: For example, I think you for the present the best Preacher of *Newcastle*, yet I believe you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then I must retain My Opinion.

Newcastle, July 16
1646.

C. R.

The

The Papers which passed between his Majesty and the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, Anno Dom. 1648. concerning Episcopacy.

His MAJESTIES first Paper concerning Episcopacy.

Charles R.

I Conceive that Episcopal Government is most consonant to the word of God, and of an Apostolicall institution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed, and derived, to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ, and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said Government; notwithstanding this my perswasion I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty as they might totally alter or change the Church-government at their pleasure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of My great scruples is clean taken away: And then there only remains;

That being by My Coronation Oath obliged to maintaine Episcopal government, as I found it settled to

to My hands: whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof untill the same be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the word of God.

Newport, 2 Octob. 1648.

An humble Answer returned to your Majesties Paper, delivered to us, October 2. 1648.

May it please your Majesty,

WE do fully agree without hesitation, That these Scriptures cited in the Margent of your Paper, *Acts 14. 23. Acts 6. 6. 1 Cor. 16. 1. 1 Cor. 14. 2 Cor. 5. 3. 3 John 9. 10.* do prove, That the Apostles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give Rules concerning Christian Discipline, and had Power of censures over Presbyters and others; and that these places of Scripture, *1 Tim. 5. 22. Titus 1. 5. 1 Tim. 19. Titus 3. 10.* do prove that Timothy and Titus had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exercise Censures over others; and that the second and third Chapters of the Revelations do prove, that the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches, and exercising Censures: But that either the Apostles, or Timothy and Titus, or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopall Government in that sense, or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their substitutes and Successors, any such Episcopall Government, that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alleged, we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny also, That Episcopall Government is therefore most consonant to the Word of God, and of Apostles institution, or proved so to be by the Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or practised Episcopall

Episcopall Government; as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive,) That our faith and conscience touching this point ought to be concluded: The Name, Office, and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguished, and is clearly evident, *Titus 1. 5. 7. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, & ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Bishop must be blamelesse.* In which place the Apostles reasoning were altogether invalid and insequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same name.

The same is manifest, *Acts 20. 17, 28.* And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the Presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge *verse 28. Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave these Presbyters, and never to see their faces more, *verse 38.* doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Bishops of the Holy Ghosts making: But that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kinde of Bishops than these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witnesses this assertion of ours may stand; we adde to what we have already said, That in the first of *Peter 5. 1. 2. The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am, also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appears plain to us, That under the words used in this place,

is exprest whatsoever work the Presbyters do, more in the government & good of the Church, otherwise than is there expressly enjoined unto Presbyters. By which that hath been said, The point is rendred clear to the judgment of most men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the new Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice of any qualification required in a Bishop, that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination in the Office of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoined to doe; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apostles speake of, *2 Tim. 5. 17. As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of especially affixed to that Act or Work of labouring in the Word Doctrine, which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive, That Episcopall Government was practised by Apostles themselves; We humbly answer, that the Apostles as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were Extraordinary in respect of the Commission and gifts, and office, and distinguished from all other Officers, *1 Cor. 12. 28. God hath set some in the Church, First Apostles, Secondly Presbyters, Thirdly Teachers, Ephesians 4. 11. Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers*; Whereby the Apostles are distinguished from Pastors, and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to ex-

ercise censures in all Churches we affirm, and withall, that no other persons or Officers of the Church may challenge or assume to themselves such power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it, except such power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scripture, for that Government which they practised was Apostolicall according to that peculiar Commission and authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopall, then, as their office was so comprehensive as they had power to doe the work of any or all other Church Officers; In which respect they call themselves *Presbyteri, Diaconi*, (but never *Episcopi* in distinct sense) and therefore we humbly crave leave to say, that to argue the Apostles to have practised Episcopall Government, because they ordained other Officers, and exercised censures, is, as if we should argue a Justice of peace to be a Constable, because he doth that which a Constable doth in some particulars. Its manifest that the Office of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apostles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; The distinction of Presbyters and Bishops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That the Episcopall Government, was by the Apostles committed and delivered to particular persons, as their Substitutes or their Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the alleged places of Scripture to instance in *Timothy* and *Titus* and the Angels of the Churches, We humbly answer,

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant, That

That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power: ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopall Government, nor that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from Pastors and Teachers *Ephesians* 4. 11. And that they were Evangelists it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it is clear to us, that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Creet* was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he imployes them ther upon occasions of businesse, and expresseth Himselfe in such manner, *besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine, 1. Tim.* 13. For this cause left thee in *Creet*, *Titus* 1. 5. as doth carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Honour: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, 2. *Tim.* 4. 9. *Be diligent to come to me shortly, Titus* 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis; so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of Ephesus and Creet, as they are called*

the postscripts of these Apostles, the credit of which postscripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches, the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphoricall and a Mystery, *Rev.* 1. 20. The Mystery of the seven Stars; Angels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars in respect of their station and shining. And it seems strange to us, that so many expresse testimonies of Scriptures, and allegoricall denominations or mysteries should be opposed; These Angels being nowhere called Bishops in vulgar acce-tation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *Johns* writings, who calls himself Presbyter, nor any mention of superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in *Disserphes* affecting it. And as to that which may be said that Epistles are directed to one; We answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and propheticall writings exprest in singulars. And wee humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary stile (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be, that is to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops, and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as *Rev.* 2. 24. *To you & to the rest in Thyatira*, by which distinction of you and the rest, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

Having

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved the pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute or practise Episcopall Government, nor commit and derive it to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein. We shall in further discharge of our duty to your Majesty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands, the ordinary and standing Offices of the Church were transmitted and derived by, and from the Apostles. The Apostles had no Successors in *idem gradum*: The Apostolicall office was not derived by succession, being instituted by Christ, by extraordinary and speciall commission; but for the ordinary and standing use and service of the Church, there were ordained onely two Orders of Offices, viz. Bishops and Deacons, which the Apostle expresth, *Phil. 1. 1. all the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, be the Bishops and Deacons*: And onely of them doth the Apostle give the due characters of Officers: *1 Tim. 3. 8*. From both which places of Scripture we conclude with antient Expositors both Greek and Latine, that Bishops are the same with Presbyters, & besides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both which orders there were in the Apostles times, in one City more than one, as in *Philippi* and *Ephesus*. And we humbly offer to your Majesty as observable; That though one Order might be superiour to another Order, yet in the same Order Officers, there was not any one superiour to others of the same Order; No Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or by Christ; and that Ordination by or in which the office

is conveyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters & Deacons; therefore there are no other Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles, we answer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further than the holy Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any more than a humane Faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others, that the times immediately succeeding the Apostles, are very dark in respect of the Historic of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times gives clear testimony to our assertion, viz. The Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* who reciting the order of Church Officers, expressly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he call'd Bishops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly spurious, and proved by *Videllius* to be so mixed, that it is hard if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides *B. Iher* in his last observations on them, c. 18. p. 238. confesseth that of the 12 of his Epistles, six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

4. We grant that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church; but they were set up not as a divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiastlicall, (as afterwards both Arch-bishops and Patriarches were,) which is clear by Doctor *Reynolds* his Epistle to Sir *Francis Knolls*; wherein he shewes out of Bishop *Iewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Crisostome*, *Ierome*, *Augustine*, and many more ho-

ly Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paul*, agree that by the word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: and that *Medina* in the Councell of *Trent* affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another *Ierome*, *Theodoret*, *Primasius*, *Sedulius*, and *Theophilact* to be of the same judgment; and that with them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anselm* Archbishop of *Santerbury*, and another *Anselm*, *Gregory*, and *Gratian*, and after them many others; that it was enroll'd in the Canon Law for sound and Catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men, and adds, that all who have laboured in the reformation of the Church for these five hundred yeares, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equall Authority and power by Gods word. The same way goes *Lumbard* Master of the Sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith, the Primitive Churches had those Orders only, and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone; with him agree many of the most eminent of that kind, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may adde *Sixtus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others, and *Cassander* who was called by one of the *German* Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who sayes it is agreed among all in the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the indentity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other than the doctrine published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. for all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, with the nether House of Parliamēt.

of these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferr'd of by the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiastical institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopal Government, which the Honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his Neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, untill the Councill of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these in our times we read not till the latter and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears that the present Hierarchy (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses) may be accordingly abolished;

ed;) and yet possibly the Bishops of these Primitive times might be, they are so far differing one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their pleasure, we humbly conceive that there are, substantial belonging to Church-Government, such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops, we hope it will appear unto your Majesties Conscience, that they are none of the Church governour appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles: we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the origin of them than succession.

His Majesties Answer to the Paper delivered to Him by the Ministers attending the Parliaments Commissioners.

Concerning Church-Government.

C. R.

His Majesty upon perusal of your Answer to His Paper of the second of October 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited. viz. that the Apostles in their own persons, that Timothy and Titus by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government, and did nor might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His Paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power

to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, than what properly falleth under one of these three: Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised episcopall Government in that sense as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very same thing you had before granted: For Episcopall Government in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certaine precinct (commonly called a Diocese) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and the people of those Churches for that end, since the substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzling and subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopall government in the sense aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three severall texts, *Tims 1. 5. 7. Acts 20. 17. 18. 1 Pet. 5. 1. 2.* his Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, that the word Bishop is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office and work mentioned in those places as the office and work of a Bishop, are the Office and work of a Presbyter; which is confest on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so farre in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the functions of a Bishop and a presbyter is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a manner

ner quite along your whole answer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted that single persons, (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and Offices of Church-government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by anything represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove that there may be community of names in some places notwithstanding the Functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of some thing committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to kee p Sheep; where in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use it is applied to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the oversight of the flock in the Duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pistorum* within their severall precincts, in the acts of externall government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministry of the Gospel, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinguished from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applied unto Presbyters who were indeed overseers of the flock, rather than unto Church-

Church-governours, who had then a title of greater Eminency whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successours, the names were by common usage (which is the best master of words) very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to the Ecclesiasticall Governour or Bishop of a Diocesse, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Minister or Priest.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rendred most clear to the judgment of most men both antient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembreth to have seen cited, by such Authors as he hath no reason to suspect, both out of the antient Fathers and Councils. and out ofundry modern Writers, even of these reformed Churches, that want Bishops, great variety of Testimonies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer, concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopall government, which you would put off, by referring it to their extraordinary calling: our Saviour himself was the first and chief Apostle, and Bishop of our Souls, sent by the Father, and anointed by the holy Ghost, to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his Church. By that Mission he received authority, and by Vnction abilities for these works which he performed in his own person, whilest he lived upon the earth: Before he left the World, that the Church might not want Teaching and Governing to the Worlds end, he chose certain persons upon whom he conferr'd both these powers, whereby they became also

also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partakers both of his Mission before his Assention (*As the Father sent Me so send I you*) and of his unction shortly after his assention, when he powred upon them the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it) was ordained and to continue to the end of the world (*Mat. 28. 18. 20.* and therefore necessarily to descend and be by them transmitted to others, as their Successors or successours. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Prophecy, Healing, Infalibility of Doctrine, discerning Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferior measure, as God saw it needfull for the planting the Churches, and the propagation of the Gospel in those Primitive times; and in this which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have successours. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling which being of necessary and continuall use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the worke of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately

succeeding them in the Office of teaching; and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implies any such thing at all, and by your owne Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist, is such as you have described it; the work of an Evangelist, which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do seems by the context (*2 Tim. 2. 4. 5.*) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all Impediments and Opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not only denied, but clearly refuted by *Sculletus*, *Cerrard*, and others; yea even with scorn rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillespie*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the consentient testimony of all Antiquity (even *Ierome* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops and that of St. *Pauls* Ordination) & acknowledged by very many late Divines:

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Divines: but a Catalogue also of 27. Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofs, That they were from *Ephesus* and *Creet* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the severall journeys and stations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy* have demonstrated the contrary concerning this particular.

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. and *Tit.* 3. 12. That they were called away from these places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, than it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their severall parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the antient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the seven Churches were *personae singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches.

and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in Epistolary stile, and so (as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be) directed to one but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakning that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to his two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it to the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichrist of Episcopacy; *Salmatinus* very peremptorily (*sic ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth; the whole Churches; or so many individual Pastors of the greater Church in these Cities, or the whole College of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colleges. For into so many severall opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any successors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be only two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters and Deacons.*

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Successors in *eundem gradum*, in respect

pect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a speciall character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things they were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the office of teaching and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors, and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councils of old times did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited, *Phil. 1. 1. 1* there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders only of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church beside, for there appears to other Manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands the power of governing of these Churches; for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospell, before they set Bishops over them, and so it may be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, where Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them. The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom they wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the

choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, then such as belonged to their ordination or inspection which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First his Majesty beleeveth, that although faith as it is an assent unto truth supernaturall, or of divine Revelation, reacheth no farther than the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact humane testimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certaine and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The Darknesse of these times in respect of the History of the Church is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darknesse of the times there is found to be so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, &c. in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or considereth that he himselfe was a Bishop in that sence, even by the confession of *Videlius* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens solus Episcopus nominatus, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcoporum* &

& Presbyter; and for Ignatius his Epistles, though some of late out of their partial disaffection to Bishops have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or Truth, yet sundry of them are such as being attested by the suffrages of antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denied to be his; and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: Ignatius himself was a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of Christ.

4. You grant that not long after the Apostles times Bishops are found in the writers of those times, reputed, as in some superiority to Presbyters: but you might have added further out of these writers (if you had pleased) that they were some of them as *James* at *Jerusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* at *Creet*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty presuming you could not be ignorant, that all or most of these testimonies you recite of the antient Fathers, Writers of the middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry* the eighth, do either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, where of advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a Schismatical point (which in respect of the thing it self, is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious quodlibetists, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*. both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters; as also that there may be produced

either from the very same Writers; or from others of as good Authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearness farre beyond those by you mentioned to assert the three different degrees or orders (I call them whether you will) of Ecclesiasticall Functions, (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you adde lastly, concerning the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth conceive, that the accessions, or additions granted by the favour of his Royall progenitors, for the enlarging of the power or privileges of Bishops, have not made, or indeed can make the Government really and substantially to differ from what formerly it was; no more than the Addition of Arms or Ornaments can make a body really and substantially to differ from it selfe naked, or devided of the same; nor can think it either necessary or yet expedient, that the Elections of the Bishops, and some other circumstantialls touching their persons or Office should be in all respects the same under Christian Princes. as it was when Christians lived among Pagans, and under persecution; yet his Majesty so far approveth of your Answer in that behalfe, that he thinketh it well worthy the studies and endeavours of Divines of both Opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well-proportioned forme of superiority and subordination, as may best resemble the Apostolicall and primitive times, so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigents of all considerable circumstances will admit, so as the power of Church Government in the particular Ordination which is meerly spirituall, may remaine in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised

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sed without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery, as *Timothy* was ordained by the Authority of *St. Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of Government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops as before is exprest) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed or limited by the Sovereign power, to which by the Lawes of the place, and the acknowledgment of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubts whether it be in your power to give him any positive assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties paper, his Majesty would have been better satisfied if you had been more Particular in your Answer thereunto; you told him in generall, that there are substantialls in Church Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantialls are, nor in what hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expects that you would have declared your opinions clearly whether Christ or his Apostles left any certaine form of Government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof; or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certaine form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed is perpetuall and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopall, or the Presbyterian Government, or some other differing from both.

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty, to look rather to the originall of Bishops, than to

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their succession, his Majesty thinks it needfull to look at both, especially since their Succession is the best clue, the most certaine and ready way to find out their originall.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth professe, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall have influence in him, so he doubts not but somewhat may appeare to you in His which was not so clear to you before; and if this debate may have this end, that it dispose others to the temper of accepting reason, as it shall him in endeavouring to give satisfaction in all he can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes though it hath taken up, it hath not mis-spent His time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

*The Answer of the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament, to the second Paper delivered to them by his Majesty, October 6. 1648.
Delivered to his Majesty October 17.*

May it please your Majesty,

AS to our Paper of October the third, in answer to your Majesties of October the second, we did so now againe we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Majesties Paper do prove, that the Apostles in their own persons, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had power respectively to do those things, which are in those places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now also we humbly do deny, that any of the persons or Officers fore-mentioned were Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopall Government in that sence: Or that this was in the least measure proved by the alleged Scriptures, and therefore

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fore our Negative not being to the same point, state of the Question which was affirmed, we have probably conceived that we should not be interpreted, to have in effect denied the very same thing, which we had before granted; or to have acknowledged that the severall Scriptures do prove the thing for which they are cited by your Majesty: And if that which we granted were all, that, by the Scriptures cited in your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove; it would follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on your Majesties part, to make up that Conclusion which is pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that assertion, so we now crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The Reason given by your Majesty in this paper to support your assertion, That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a definition of Episcopall Government; 'Which is (as your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the Government of the Churches within a certain precinct commonly called a Diocese) committed to one person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and people of those Churches for that end; with Government so prescribed, being for substance the thing it selfe in all the three forementioned particulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and Censures) found in Scriptures, except we will contend about names and words, must be acknowledged in the sense aforesaid to be sufficiently proved in Scriptures: and your Majesty saith further, that Bishops do challenge more or other power not long to them, in respect of their Episcopall office, 'it is distinct from that of presbyters, than what properly falls under one of those three.

We desire to speake both to the Bishops of *challenge*, and to your Majesties Description of *Episcopall Government*. And first to their Challenge; because it is first exprest in your MAJESTIES Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects: First, In respect of the power challenged: Secondly, In respect of that ground, or tenure upon which the claim is laid. The power Challenged consists of three particulars; *Ordaining*, *giving* rules of Discipline, and *Censures*. No more, no other, in respect of their Episcopall Office. We see not, by what warrant this Writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apostolicall office is thus shared or divided; the *Governing* part into the Bishops hands; the *teaching* and *administring* Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For besides that the Scripture makes no such inclosure, or partition wall, it appears the challenge is growne to more than was pretended unto in the times of grown Episcopacy *Ierome* and *Chrysostome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter differed only in the matter of Ordination: and learned Doctor *Billsen* makes some abatement in the claim of *three*, saying, the things proper to Bishops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are singularity of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining.

The tenure or ground upon which the claim is made is Apostolicall, which with us is all one with *Divine Institution*. And this, as far as we have learned, hath not been *anciently*, *openly*, or *generally* avowed in this Church of *England*, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation; and whensoever the pretension hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned, and godly men. The abettors of the Challenge, that they might resolve it at last into the

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the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible
ascending by the way of *Succession*; going
River to find the Head: but when they came
Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which
cannot be found) they shrowded it under the
and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and
Timothy and *Titus*. Those that would carry it
endeavoured to imp it into the *Apostolicall office*,
so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in
any *express precept*, but *implicite practise* of the
Apostles: and so the *Apostolicall Office* (excepting the
or enablements confest only extraordinary is be-
down to the *Episcopall*, and the *Episcopall* raised
be *Apostolicall*. Whereupon it follows, that the
Officers in the Church are put into a lower or
extraordinary office turned into an *ordinary* dis-
tinction, confounded with that which in the Scripture
not found; a *temporary* and an *extinct* office revived:
indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly
they are so *Incompatible* to the same subject, that
that will take both must lose the one: *aut*
Episcopatum, *aut* *Apostolatum Episcopum*. For the
Apostles, though they did not in many things
they acted *in nomine & alio munere* than Pre-
bys or Bishops can do; and if they were indeed Bishops
and their Government properly *Episcopall* in
sense then it is not needful to goe so far about to
Episcopall Government of divine institution, but
they practised it: but to assert expressly that
instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties definition of *Episcopall* go-
vernment, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later
than Scripture times, and doth not suite with that
Meridian, under which there were more Bishops
one in a precinct, or Church; and it is as fully
pretent to *Achiepiscopall*, and *Patriarchall* go-

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ment, as *Episcopall*. The parts of this definition. *ma-
teriall* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in
Scripture. The Apostles *Timothy* and *Titus*, were sin-
gle persons, but not limited to a Precinct: the Govern-
ment of the Angels were limited to a Precinct, but
not in single persons. In severall offices not to be con-
founded, the parts of this definition may be found;
but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordi-
nary Officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordi-
nary* and *standing Government*, had been made the
genus in your Majesties definition (as it ought to be)
we should crave leave to say it would be *gratis dictum*,
if not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put
all these parts together in a Bishop, who never bor-
rowed of *Apostles*, *Evangelists* and *Angels* the mat-
ter of Governing and ordaining, and left the other of
teaching, dispensing Sacraments, and dealing only
in foro interno, to Presbyters, untill after times. By this
that hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we
contend not first *de nomine*, about the name of *Epis-
copall* Government: which yet (though names serve
for distinction) is not called or distinguished by that
name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the
work, whether the work of Governing, Ordering,
preaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which
we clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*,
about the Office. it being a great fallacy to argue,
That the Apostles did the same worke which Bishops
or Presbyters are to do in Ordinary; Therefore they
were of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberall
and learned Arts, one and the same thing may be
handled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are di-
stinguished from the *formalis ratio* of handling of them;
so we say of Officers, they are distinguished by their
Callings and Commissions, though not by the work,
as all those that are named, (*Ephes. 4. 11.*) *Apostles*
Prophets,
Y 4

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Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, are de-
signed to one and the same generall and common
work: The work of the Ministry, vers 12. And yet they
are not therefore all one, for its said, *some Apostles,*
some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Pastors and
Teachers. A Dictator in Rome and an ordinary Tri-
bune; Moses and the subordinate Governours of Is-
rael; The Court of Parliament and of the Kings Bench;
an Apostle and a Presbyter or Deacon may agree in
some common work, and yet no confusion of Office
followes thereupon.

To that which your Majesty conceives, that the
most that can be proved from all, or any of those places,
by us alleged (to prove that the Name, Office,
and Work of Bishops and Presbyters is one and
the same in all things, and not in the least dis-
tinguished) is, that the word Bishop is used in them to
signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office,
and Work, mentioned in these places as the
Office and Work of a Bishop, are the Office
and Work of a Presbyter, which is confessed on all sides; We
make this humble return, That though there be no
supposition so much as implied, that the Office of a
Bishop and a Presbyter, are distinct in any thing (for
the names are mutually reciprocal) yet we take your
Majesties concession, that in these times of the
Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinction
of Office of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequently
that the identity of the Office must stand, untill there
can be found a clear distinction or division in the
Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Functions
from the community of names, and some part of
the work, the Argument might have been justly termed
a fallacy, but we proved them the same Office from
the same worke, *per omnia*, being allowed so to doe by
the fullness of those two words used in the Acts and
S. Peter

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by the Ministers at the Isle of Wight.
S. Peter his Epistle *per omnia* and *in omnia*. under the
force of which words the Bishops claim their whole
power of Government and Jurisdiction, and we found
no little weight added to our Argument from that in
the Acts, where the Apostle departing from the *Asiatic*
Presbyters or Bishops, as never to see their faces more
commits (as by a small charge) the Government of
that Church, both over particular Presbyters and
People, not to *immediately* who then stood at his elbow,
but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops,
made by the holy Ghost, whom we read to have set ma-
ny Bishops over our Church, not one over either one
or many, and the Apostles arguing from the same
qualification of a Presbyter and of a Bishop in order
to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves
them to be two names of the same Order or Function,
on, the diverse Orders of Presbyter and Deacon, be-
ing diversly characterised, upon these grounds (wee
hope without fallacy) we conceive it justly proved,
that a Bishop and a Presbyter are wholly the same.
That *Timothy* and *Titus* were single persons, having
authority of Government, we acknowledge; but de-
ny, that from thence any Argument can be made un-
to either single Bishop or Presbyter: for though a
single Presbyter by the power of his Order (as they
call it) may preach the Word and dispense the Sa-
craments; yet by that example of the Presbytery,
their *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of *settling the*
Church in matter of scandall, it seems manifest, that
Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a
single Presbyter; neither hath your Majesty hitherto
proved either the names of Bishops and Presbyters,
or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at
all distinguished; You having wholly waved the no-
tice or answer of that we did insert (and do yet de-
sire some demonstration of the contrary) viz. That
the

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 the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any
qualification, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any
honour peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from
 a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them
 unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this Que-
 stion near to an issue. That GOD should intend a dis-
 tinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in
 the Church, and yet not expresse any qualification,
 worke, or way of constituting and ordaining of him,
 seems unto us improbable. Concerning the significa-
 tion of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer, or
 one that hath a charge committed to him: For in-
 stance, of watching a Beacon, or *keeping Sheep*; and
 the application of the name to such persons as have in-
 spection of the Churches of Christ committed to them
in spiritualibus: We also give our suffrage, but not
 to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, and *Episcopus*
pastorum & gregis, both because it is the point in
 Question; and because also your M A J E S T Y
 having signified that *Episcopus* imports a *keeper of*
sheep, yet you have not said that it signifies also a
keeper of shepherds. As to that which is affirmed by
 your Majesty, that the peculiar of the function of
 Bishops is Church Government; and that the reason
 why the said *Episcopus* is so usually applyed to
 Presbytery, was, because Church Governours had
 then another Title of greater eminency, to wit, that
 of *Apostles*, untill the Government of the Churches
 came into the hands of their Successours; and then
 the names were by common usage very soon appro-
 priated; That of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiasticall Go-
 vernours; That of *Presbyters* to the ordinary
 Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased
 to make without any demonstration; for the Scrip-
 ture calls Presbyters Rulers, and Pastors and
 Teachers it calls Governours; and commits to them

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 them the charge of feeding and inspection as wee
 have proved, and that without any mention of
 Church Government peculiar to Bishops; we deny
 not, but some of the Fathers have conceived the
 notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the
 names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropri-
 ate, which is either an allusion or conceit, with-
 out evidence of Scripture; For, while the Functi-
 on was one, the names were not divided; When
 the Function was divided, the name was divided
 also, and indeed improprie; but we that look for
 the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as
 for the Constitution, cannot finde that this appro-
 priation of names was made till afterwards, or in
 proceesse of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers
 of this conceit) affirms, whose saying, when it is run
 out of the pale of Scripture time, wee can no fur-
 ther follow; from which premises laid altogether,
 wee did conclude the cleernesse of our assertion,
 That in the scriptures of the New Testament, a Bishop
 distinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification*, *Ordination*,
Office or *Dignity* is not found, the contrary whereof
 though your Majesty saith, that you have seen con-
 firmed by great variety of credible Testimony, yet we
 believe those testimonies are rather strong in asser-
 ting, than in demonstrating the Scriptures Original of
 a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of wit-
 nesses, named in the later end of our former Answer,
 unto which we should refer if matter of right were
 not proper tryable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by
 Testimony.

We said that the Apostles were the highest Order
 of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordi-
 nary, that they were distinguished from all other Of-
 ficers, and that their Government was not *Episcopall*,
 but *Apostolicall*; to which Answer, your Majesty being
 no

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their office; to which we cannot give consent; since no man is denominated an Officer from his meer abilities and gifts, so neither can the Apostles be called extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary gifts, but that the Apostles mission and Office (as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and temporary, doth appear in that it was by immediate Commission from Christ, without any intervention of men, either in Election or Ordination for planting an authoritative governing of all Churches through the World, comprehending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreasonable, that the office and authority of the Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit stock, into which the ordinary office of a Bishop might be ingrafted, nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs through the whole file of your Majesties discourse, for though there be succession in the work of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no succession in the Commission or Office by which the Apostles performed them, for the Office of Christ, of Apostles, of Evangelists, of Prophets, is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to Teaching and Governing, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *caenus* destroyed; the Succession may be into the same work; not into the same Commission and Office, the ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constituted, settled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission than that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shown

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as some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise wee must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolicall Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to bee the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops, doe stand, or subversion, if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scripture no where implieth any such things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text clearly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

1. The name of *Bishop*, the Scripture neither expressly, nor by implication gives it to either, the work which they are enjoined to doe is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it selfe make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of Officers in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers with the Apostles, sent abroad to severall Churches as occasion did require, it (is as we humbly conceive) clear

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clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the
first defenders of Episcopall Government, nor (as we
remember) by *Scultetus* himself during the time of their
travails.

To that which your Majesty secondly saith,
That we cannot make it appear by any Text of Scrip-
ture that the Office of Evangelists is such as wee have
described, his worke seeming, 2. *Timothy* 2. 4.
5. to be nothing else but diligence in preaching the
Word, notwithstanding all impediments and
oppositions, We humbly Answer, that exact De-
scriptions of these or other Church Officers are
hard to be found in any Text of Scripture, but
by comparing one place of Scripture with another,
it may be proved as well what they were
as what the Apostles and Presbyters were, the de-
scription by us given being a Character made up
by collation of Scriptures, from which *Maitland*
Hosker, *Eccles. Polit. lib. 5.* doth not much vary, say-
ing, that Evangelists were Presbyters of principal
station, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as
agents in Ecclesiasticall affairs, wheresoever they
went. And that Pastors and Teachers were settled
to some certaine Charge, & thereby differed from
Evangelists, whose work that it should be nothing
but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to
Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and
not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth
that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcop-
all and Apostolicall, so this also is to be divided into
Episcopall and Evangelisticall, Ordination and Centurion
belonging to *Timothy* as a Bishop, and diligence
in preaching only being left to the Evangelists, which
division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted
by the Scripture.

Thirdly, your Majesty saith, that that which

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so confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their act-
ing as Evangelists, is by some denied and refuted, yea
even with scorn rejected by some rigid Presbyteri-
ans; and that which we so confidently deny, that
they were Bishops, is confirmed by the consentient te-
stimony of all antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himself,
that they were Bishops of *S. Pauls* ordination, ac-
knowledged by very many late Divines, and that a
catalogue of twenty seven Bishops of *Ephesus* lineal-
ly succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good record, is
vouched by *D. Reynolds* and other Writers.

Our confidence as your Majesty is pleased to call
it) was in our Answer exprest in these words, *We can-*
not say that Timothy and Titus were Bishops in the
sense of your Majesty, but extraordinary Officers or
Evangelists, in which opinion we were then clear, not
out of a totall ignorance of those Testimonies which
might be alledged against it, but from intrinsic argu-
ments out of Scripture, from which your Majesty hath
not produced any one to the contrary; nor is our
confidence weakened by such replies as these; the Scrip-
ture never calls them Bishops, but the Fathers do;
the Scripture calls *Timothy* an Evangelist; some of
late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn; the
Scripture relates their motion from Church to
Church, but some relate them to be fixed at *Ephesus*
and in *Crete*: the Scripture makes distinction of Evan-
gelists and Pastors, but some say that *Timothy* and *Ti-*
tus were both: we cannot give your Majesty a pre-
sent account of *Scultetus* and *Ierhards* Arguments,
but do believe that *M. Gillespi* and *Rutherford* are able
with greater strength to refute that opinion of *imo-*
thy and *Titus* their being Bishops, then they do (if
they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evan-
gelists: As for testimonies and catalogues, though we
undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pl.

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 fed to allow us the use of our Reason, so far as not to
 expect an Office in the Church, which is not found in
 Scripture, upon generall appellations or titles and con-
 fessions frequently found in the Fathers, especially when
 they speak vulgarly, and not as to a point in debate
 for even *Jerome*, who as your Majesty saith doth re-
 cord, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops,
 and that of *S. Pauls* Ordination, doth when he speake
 to the point between your Majesty and us, give
 Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Pre-
 byters *consuetudine magis quam Dominica re-
 dispositione*; for catalogues, their credit rests upon
 first witnesses from whom they are reported by tra-
 dition from hand to hand, whose writings are many
 suppositions, dubious, or not extant; besides that the
 catalogues do resolve themselves into some Apostles
 Evangelists as the first Bishop, as the catalogue of *Je-
 rusalem* into the Apostle *James*, that of *Antioch* into
 Peter; that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alex-
 andria* into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*, who
 Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be
 degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in
 their proper calling or Office; and it is easie for us
 to proceed the same way, and to find many ancient
 customs generally received in the Church (con-
 firmed by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*) as in
 the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet, are con-
 fessedly, not of *Divine institution*: and further, if *Timothy*
 and the rest that are first in the catalogue were
 Bishops with such sole power of Ordination and Co-
 sultures, as is asserted, how came their pretended suc-
 cessors, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the
 Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Ep-
 iscopall power as was in their Predecessours, and
 was not recovered in 300. hundred years; and there-
 fore we cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from

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 that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the be-
 ginning it was not so.

Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but upon ve-
 ry weak proofes, that they were from *Ephesus* and
 Crete removed to other places, the contrary where-
 unto hath been demonstrated by some, who have
 exactly out of Scripture, compared the times, and
 order of the severall journeys, and stations of *Paul*
 and *Timothy*.

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and
Titus were Evangelists, lies with some streffe upon
 this, that they removed from place to place, as they
 were sent by or accompanied the Apostles, the
 proof whereof appeares to us, to be of greater
 strength then can be taken off by the comparison
 which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the As-
 sembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *Travails* of
Timothy, as we find them in order recorded in the
 Scripture-places cited in the Margin; and we see
 forth from *Berea*, *Acts* 17. 14. where we find *Timothy*
 then next at *Athens*, *v.* 15. from whence *Paul*
 sends him to *Thessalonica*, *1 Thes.* 3. 1, 2. afterward ha-
 ving been in *Macedonia*; he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*,
Acts 18. 5. and after that he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*,
Acts 19. 22. and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19. 22.
 whither *S. Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy*
 accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20. 4. who was with him
 at *Troas*, *verse* 5. 6. who was with him at *Miletus*,
verse 17. to which place *Saint Paul* sent for the Pres-
 byters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that
 solemn charge to take heed unto themselves, and to
 all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made
 them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommen-
 dation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the
 Elders. And if *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, he
 must be so when the first Epistle was sent to him, in
 which

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 which he is pretended to receive the charge of
 exercising his Episcopall power in Ordination and
 Government; but it is manifest that after this Epi-
 stle sent to him, he was in continuall journeys, or
 absent from *Ephesus*. For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus*
 when he went from *Macedonia*, *1 Tim.* 1. 3. and he left
 him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and
 ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was
 after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at
Miletus; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to
Jerusalem, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome* and
 never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.*
13. 23. Phil. 1. 1. *Philem.* v. 1. *Col.* 1. 1. *Heb.* 13. 23. we
 find *Timothy* a prisoner with him; and these Epi-
 stles which *Paul* wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*,
 namely the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*,
 to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention
 of *Timothy* as his companion at these times, nor do
 we ever find him again at *Ephesus*, for we find that
 after all this, towards the end of *Saint Pauls* life, af-
 ter his first answering before *Nero*, and when he saw
 his departing was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to
Rome, not from *Ephesus*; *2 Tim.* 4. 6. 10, 11, 12, 13.
 for it seems that *Timothy* was not there, because
Paul giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of the
 most of his companions sent into divers parts, he
 saith *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if your Ma-
 jesty shall be pleased, to cast up into one totall that
 which is said, the several journeys and stations of
Timothy, the order of them, the time spent in them,
 the nature of his employment, to negotiate the af-
 faires of *Christ* in severall Churches and places, the evi-
 dence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bi-
 shop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that
 such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or
 precinct, and then by assuming that *Timothy* was such

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 a man, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of
Ephesus. The like conclusion may be enforced from the
 like premises, from the instance of *Titus*, whom we
 find at *Jerusalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before he came to
Crete, from whence he is sent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3.
 12. and after that he is sent to *Corinth*, from whence
 he is expected at *Troas*, *2 Cor.* 2. 12. and met with
Paul in *Macedonia*, *2 Cor.* 5. 6. whence he is sent again
 to *Corinth*, *2 Cor.* 8. 6. and after all this is near the
 time of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went
 not into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, *2 Tim.* 4. 10. and
 after this is not heard on the Scripture; and so we
 hope your Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not
 upon very weak proofs, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were
 from *Ephesus*, and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes notice of
 two places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that
 they were called away from those places of *Ephesus*,
 and *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of
 themselves, yet being accompanied by two other pla-
 ces which your Majesty takes no notice of, may seem
 to conclude more, and these are *1 Tim.* 5. 1. 3. *Tit.* 1. 5.
As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, for this cause
left I thee in Crete, in both which is specified the oc-
 casionall imployment, for which they made stay in
 those places: and the expressions used, *I besought*
thee to abide still at Ephesus, I left thee in Crete, doe
 not sound like words of installment of a man into a Bi-
 shoprick, but of an intendment to call them away a-
 gain; and if the first and last be put together, his
 actuall revocation of them both, the intimation of his
 intention, that they should not stay there for conti-
 nuance, and the reason of his beseeching the one to
 stay, and of his leaving the other behind him, which
 was some present defects and distempers in those
 Churches; they will put fair to prove that the Apo-
 stles

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 He intended not to establish them Bishops of those
 places, and therefore *did not*. For the *Postscript*, be-
 cause your Majesty laies no great weight upon them,
 we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence
 gainst them, though they do bear witness in a matter
 of fact, which in our opinion *never was*, and in your
 Majesties judgement *was long before they were borne*,
 and so we conclude this discourse about *Timothy* and
Titus with this Observation, That in the same very E-
 pistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majesty
 hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and
 did exercise Episcopall Government; there is cleare
 evidence both for Presbyters *imposing hands*, in Ordina-
 tion, and for their *Ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the
 Churches, though your Majesty saith, that you lay no
 weight upon the *Allegory* or *Mystery* of the denomi-
 nation; yet you assert, that the persons bearing that
 name were *persona singulares*, and in a word Bishops,
 who yet are never so called in Scripture, and the al-
 legoricall denomination of Angels or Stars, which in
 the judgement of ancient and modern Writers doe
 belong to the faithfull Ministers and Preachers of the
 Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may see
 to the *Myster* and *Crozier staffe*, and so opposed to ma-
 ny expresse testimonies of Scripture: And if your
 Majesty hath been particular in that, wherein you say
 the strength of your instance lies, *viz.* The judgement
 of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and
 many probabilities in the Text it self, we hope to
 have made it apparent, that many ancient and emi-
 nent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it
 self do give evidence to the contrary. To that which
 is asserted, That these singular persons were Bishops
 in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing of
 moment to infirme this, we humbly submit to your
 Majesties

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 Majesties judgement, and shall onely represent to
 you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of
 that which in our Answer seemes to us of moment,
 which is this; That in *Mysterious* and *prophetick wri-
 tings* or *visional representations* (such as this of the stars
 and golden Candlesticks is) a number of things or
 persons is usually exprest in *singulars*, and this in visi-
 ons is the usuall way of Representation of things, a
thousand persons making up one Church, is repre-
 sented by one *Candlestick*; Many Ministers making
 up one Presbytery, by one *Angell*. And because
 your Majesty seems to call upon us to be particu-
 lar, though we cannot name the Angells, nor are sa-
 tisfied in our judgement, that those whom some do
 undertake to name were intended by the name of
 Angells in those Epistles; yet we say, *First*, that
 these Epistles were sent unto the Churches, and that
 under the expression of *this thou dost*, or *this thou hast*,
 and *the like*, the Churches are respectively intended,
 for the *sin reproved*, the *repentance commanded*, the *pe-
 nishments threatened*, are to be referred to the Churches,
 and not to the singular Angells only, and yet we do
 not thinke that *Salvatus* did intend, nor do we, that
 in formall denomination the *Angels* and *Candlesticks*
 are the same.

Secondly, The Angels of these Churches or Ru-
 lers were a *Collective Body*, which we endeavoured
 to prove by such probabilities as your Majesty takes
 no notice of, namely the instance of the Church of
Ephesus, where there were many Bishops, to whom
 the charge of that Church was Saint *Paul* at his fi-
 nall departure from them committed, as also by that
 expression, *Revel. 2.24. To you* and to the rest in *This*
city; which distinction makes it very probable,
 that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, so
 that the like to which many expressions may be found
 in

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in these Epistles, which to interpret according to
the consentient evidence of other Scriptures of the
New Testament, is not safe onely, but Solid and E-
vidential.

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistles
Letters to *Collective Bodies*, usually are (that is) *One*;
but intended to the *Body*; which your Majesty
illustrateth by your sending a Message to your two
Houses, and directing it to the *Speaker of the House*
Peers; which as it doth not hinder (we confess)
but that the *Speaker is one single person*; so it doth not
prove at all, that the *Speaker is always the same per-
son*; or if he were, that therefore because your Ma-
jesty is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler*
of the two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty
hath given clear instance, that though these Letters
be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithstanding
they might neither be Bishops, nor yet *perpetuall*
derators. For the severall opinions specified in your
MAJESTIES paper, *three* of them, by ease
and fair accommodation (as wee declared before)
are soon reduced and united amongst themselves,
and may be holden without *recess* from the re-
ceived judgment of the Christian Church, by such
as are farre from meeting that Aspersiō, which is
cast upon the *Reformed Divines*, by Popish Wri-
ters, that they have divided themselves from the com-
mon and received judgment of the *Christian Church*,
which imputation, we hope, was not in your Ma-
jesties intention to lay upon us, *untill* it be made
clear that it is the common and received judgment of
the *Christian Church* that *now is*, or of that in former
Ages, that the *Angels* of the Churches were Bishops,
having Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within
their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that

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the Apostles were to have any Successours in their
Office, and affirmed onely *two Orders of Ordinary and*
Standing Officers in the Church, viz. *Presbyters* and
Deacons. Concerning the former of which your MA-
JESTY refers to what you had in part already declar-
ed. That in those things which were extraordina-
ry in the Apostles, as namely the measure of their
Gifts, &c. They had no Successours in *eundem gra-*
dum; but in those things which were not extraordi-
nary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Go-
verning (which are necessary for the Service of
the Church in all Times) they were to have and
had no Successours: Where your Majesty delivers
a Doctrine new to us. Namely, that the Apostles had
Successours into their Offices, not into their Abili-
ties: For besides that, Succession is not properly
into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot say, that
one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or
Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive,
that the office Apostolical was extraordinary in whole,
because their Mission and Commission was so, and
the service or work of Teaching and Governing be-
ing to continue in all times doth not render their
Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moses* was not ren-
dered Ordinary, because many works of Government
exercised by him, were re-committed to the *standing*
Elders of Israel: And if they have Successours, it must
be either into their whole Office, or into some parts:
Their Successours into the whole (however differing
from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifica-
tions) must be called Apostles; the same Office gives
the same Denomination; and then we shall confesse
that Bishops, if they be their Successours in Office, are
of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolical Office
was so; if their Successours come into part of their Of-
fice onely, the *Presbyters* may be as well called their
Successours,

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Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they are cal-
 led by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenaeus*, *Origen*,
Hierome, and others: Whereas in truth the Apostles
 have not properly *Successors* into office, but the
 ordinary power of Teaching and Governing, which
 is settled in the Church for continuance) is instituted
 and settled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a
warrant and Commission according to the rules of
 Ordination and calling in the Word, which the Bishop
 hath not yet produced for himself, and without
 which he cannot challenge it upon the general affir-
 mative Speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the extent of
 their work amongst those things which were extraor-
 dinary in the Apostles, we could wish that you had
 declared whether it belong to their Mission or Un-
 derstanding; for we humbly conceive, that their authoritative
 power to do their work in all places of the World
 did properly belong to their Mission, and conse-
 quently that their office, as well as their Abilities was
 extraordinary, and so by your *Majesties own concession*
 not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church
 your Majesty doth reply, 'That although in the
 places cited, *Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 8.* there be no mention
 'but of the *two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters*, and
 'Deacons; yet it is not thereby proved that there
 is no other standing Office in the Church besides
 which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not only
 because there are no other named, but because there
 is no rule of Ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or
 of Mission, and so the Argument is as good, as can be
 made, *a non causa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet
 apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apo-
 stolick Office do also pretend to the same manner of
 Mission, nor do we know that those very many Di-

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 vines that have asserted *two orders onely*, have con-
 cluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures
 cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other
 manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not
 be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And
 we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest
 then these two, *viz.* because, *It was not.*

'The one reason given by your Majesty, is because
 'in the Churches which the Apostles themselves
 'planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the
 'Office of Teaching, but reserved in their own hands
 'the power of Governing those Churches for a longer
 'or shorter time before they set Bishops over them.
 Which under your Majesties favour is not so much a
 reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those
 places as they indeed were not; the variety of rea-
 sons (may we say, or conjectures) rendered why Bi-
 shops were not set up at first, as namely because *St*
Epiphanius his reason; or for remedy of *chisme*, which
 is *Jeromes* reason, or because the Apostles saw it not
 expedient, which is your MAJESTIES reason: doth
 shew that this cause labours under a manifest weak-
 ness; for the Apostles reserving in their own hands
 the power of Governing, we grant it, they could
 no more develt themselves of power of Governing,
 then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) they could lose their
 Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Church-
 es, they had no more parted with their power of Go-
 verning, then they did in setting up the Presby-
 ters: for we have proved that Presbyters, being cal-
 led *Rulers, Governours, Bishops*, had the power of go-
 verning in Ordinary, committed to them, as well
 as the Office of Teaching, and that both the Keys (as
 they are called) being by our Saviour committed in-
 to

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to one hand, were not by the Apostles divided into
two: Nor do we see, how the Apostles could, rea-
sonably, commit the Government of the Church to
the Presbyters of Ephesus, Acts 20. and yet reserve
the power of governing (viz. in ordinary) in his own
hands, who took his solemn leave of them as never to
see their faces more. As that part of the power of
 Government, which for distinction sake may be
 called *Legis-Lative*, and which is one of the three
 fore-mentioned things challenged by the Bishops;
viz. Giving Rules, the reserving of it in the Apostles
 hands hindred not; but that in your MAJESTIES
 judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Eph-*
esus and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives Rules for
 ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there
 any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part
 of the power of governing, which is called *Execu-*
tive in such cases, and upon such occasions as they
 thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bi-
 shops, if they had intended it; and therefore the re-
 serving of power in their hands can be no greater rea-
 son why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, than
 that *they never did*. And since (by your Majesties
 Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apo-
 stles *first*, in the Churches by them planted, and that
 with power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture;
 you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over
 the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after times;
 or else we must conclude that the Bishops got both
 his Name and power of Government out of the Pre-
 byters hand, as the *Tree in the wal* roots out the stone
 by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith, it
 may be probable there was *yet no Bishop*, it is certain
 there were many like them, who were also at *Ephesus*
 to whom if onely the Office of Teaching did belong,

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 they had the most laborious and honourable part,
 that which was lesse honorable being reserved in the
 Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean
 time without ordinary Government.

The other reason given why two Orders only are
 mentioned in those places is, because he wrote in the
 Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bi-
 shops, so there was no need to write any thing con-
 cerning the choice and qualification of any other sort
 of Officers then such, as belonged to their Ordinati-
 on and inspection, which were Presbyters and Dea-
 cons only, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two only Orders are men-
 tioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because
 there was yet no Bishop; this latter reason why the
 same two onely are mentioned in these Epistles, is
 because there was no Bishop to be ordained; we might
 own the reason for good, if there may be found any
 rule for the Ordination of the other order of Bishops
 in some other place of Scripture, but if the Ordination
 cannot be found, how should we find the Order? and it
 is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the Chap-
 ter formerly alledged, *1 Tim. 3.* where he passes im-
 mediately from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have
 distinctly exprest, or at least hinted, what sort of Bi-
 shop he meant, whether the Bishop over Presbyters,
 or the Presbyter-Bishop, to have avoided the confu-
 sion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark
 of difference in the *Eschocheon* of the Presbyter-Bi-
 shop, if there had been some other Bishop of a bigger
 honour. And whereas your Maj. saith, there was no need
 to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense,
 who belonged not to their ordination and inspection;
 we conceive that in your Majesties judgment, Bishops
 might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for
 there was then no Canon forbidding one single Bishop
 to

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to ordain another of his own rank, and there being
many cities in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it con-
venient (as those ancient Fathers that call him *Arch-*
Bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some
of those cities: so that this reason fights against the
principles of those that hold *Timothy* & *Titus* to have
been Bishops; for our part we believe that these
belonged not to *Timothy* & *Titus* with strict limita-
tion to *Ephesus* & *Crete*; but respectively to all the pla-
ces or Churches where they might come; and to
that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining
Governing, as it is written in the same Chapter
1 Tim. 3. 14, 15. Those things I have writtun unto thee
&c. that thou mayest know how to behave thy self in the
House of God, which is the Church; and therefore
there had been any proper character or qualification
of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; if any Ordina-
tion or Office, we think the Apostle would have men-
tioned it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the
more strongly from the insufficiency of your Ma-
jesties two reasons) that there are onely two Orders of
Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not supe-
rior to a Presbyter: for we find not (as we said in
our Answer) that one Officer is superior to another
who is of the same Order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

'Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, that
'you could not in conscience consent to abolish *E-*
'piscopal Government, because you did conceive
'to be of Apostolical Institution, practised by the A-
'postles themselves, and by them committed and de-
'volved to particular persons as their Successors, and
'have ever since till these last times been exercised by
'Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: We thought

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it necessary in our Answer, to subjoyne to that we
had said out of the Scriptures, the judgement of di-
vers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops
were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Eccle-*
siastical Institution, as that which might very much con-
duce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple, to
consider that howsoever Episcopall Government was
generally currant, yet the superscription was not
judged *Divine*, by some of those that either were
themselves Bishops, or lived under that government,
and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold,
from the prejudice of *Novellisme*, or of *recede* from the
judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that
Chrysostome and *Austin* were Bishops, as that *Aristotle*
was a *Philosopher*, *Cicero* an Oratour; though we
should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain
in matter of fact, upon humane testimonies uncon-
trolled, then infallible in respect of the Testimonies
themselves. But whereas your Majesty saith, 'That
'the darknesse of the History of the Church, in the
'time succeeding the Apostles, is a strong argument
'for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that dark-
'nesse, hath found so full proof by unquestioned Cata-
'logues, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found
'the like. We humbly conceive that those fore-men-
tioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who
must drive the series of Succession from, and through
those Historicall darkneses, and so make up their ca-
talogues very much from Tradition and Reports,
which can give no great evidence, because they agree
not amongst themselves: that which is the great ble-
mish of their evidence is, that the neerer they come
to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most
of all clear, to establish the Succession firm and clear
at first) the more doubtfull, uncertain, and indeed
contradictory

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 contradictory to one another, are the Testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of Rome, after *Peter*. some say the third: and the intricacies about the Order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say, that *Titus* was Bishop of *Creta*; some say Archbishop; and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say, that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*; and some say, that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time: Some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna*; another saith, that he succeeded one *Buculus*; and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say, that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two; and others, that there was but one Bishop of one City at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that fight one with another? We must confesse that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenaus*, &c. made use of Succession, as an Argument against *Heretikes*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive) could not be Bishops of those places, being of a higher Office; though according to the language of after-times they might by them that drew up the catalogues, be so called, because they planted, and founded, and watered those Churches to which they are intituled, and had their greatest residence in them; or els the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, where themselves

themselves were members: from whom, to pretend the succession of after Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Caesar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolicall and primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine institution, and which is an Argument above all other, the Fathers whose names were exhibited to your Majesty in our Answer, were doubtles acquainted with the Catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, & yet did hold them to be of Ecclesiastical institution. And lest your Majesty might reply, that however the Testimonies, & Catalogues may vary, or be mistaken in the order, or times, or names of those Persons that succeeded the Apostles, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so though the credit of the Catalogues be infirmed, yet the thing intended is confirmed thereby: we grant that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denied, and that the Apostles and Evangelists that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall writers, in compliance with the language and usage of their own times, called Bishops; and so were other eminent men, of chief note, presiding in the Presbyteries of the Cities or Churches, called by such writers as wrote after the division or distinction of the names of Presbyters, and Bishops: but that those first and antientest Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesty's description, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures; we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent testimonies. And granting

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granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*: yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either more than Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or lesse than Bishops, as meerly first Presbyters, having not one of the three essentials to Episcopall government (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonymy* and equivocall acceptance of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the distinction of the things, we refer our selves to himselfe in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himselfe is called a Bishop, may doubt of *Clemens opinion*, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather not doubt of it, if only his one Epistle may be impanelled upon the inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some earnestnesse of expression, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partiall disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his writings. One of those cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection to Bishops; and there are great arguments drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolations*; So that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we make him the Patron (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish writers do) of such rites and observations, as the Church in

in his time cannot be thought to have owned. He doth indeed give testimony to the *Prelacy* of a Bishop above a Presbyter, that which may justly render him suspected, is that he, *gives too much honour* (saith he) *the Bishops* as Gods high Priests, and after him you must honour the King. He was indeed a holy Martyr, and his writings have suffered *Martyrdom*, as well as he, *corruptions could not go current, but under the credit of worthy names*.

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth Paragraph, That we might have added (if we had pleased) That *Lames*, *Timothy*, *Titus* &c. were constituted and ordained Bishops, of the forementioned places respectively, and that all the Bishops of those times were reputed Successors to the *Apostles* in their *Episcopall office*: we could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apostles did not ordain *any of themselves Bishops*, nor could they do it; for even by your Majesties concession, they were Bishops before, *viz.* as they were Apostles; nor could any Apostle have his choice of a *certaine Region* or place to exercise his function in, whilst he pleased render him a Bishop. any more than *Paul* was Bishop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumcision*. Neither did the Apostles ordaine the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them: Nor were the Bishops of those times any more than as your Majesty, saith *reputed Successors* to the Apostles, in their Episcopall Office, they came after the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters do; but that is not properly succession, at least not succession into Office, and thus we say with a *Salvo* to our assertion, that in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither do we understand, whether the words *Episcopall Office*, in this Section, refer to the Bishops or

Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolical and Episcopall, or that the office Apostolicall was wholly Episcopall, unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two only Orders, your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, is imported, That which his Majesty not long ago called *Our old fallacy*, is now your answer only with this difference: We under promiscuous names hold the same office: your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two, which if as it is often asserted was but once proved, we should take it for a determinate of this controversie. Secondly, that they relate to a School-point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopus sit ex do vel gradu*, both sides of the questionists or disputants in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church Government in the Bishops alone; It is confest by us, that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors, is a curious nicety, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the same Officers may differ from and excell others of the same Order in gifts or qualifications; yet the Office it selfe is one and the same without difference or degrees, as one Apostle or Presbyter, is not superiour to another in degree of Office, they that are of the same order are of the same degree, in respect of Office, as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or allow, any superiority of one over another of the same Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders only in the Church, is a Demonstration, that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-balance the testimonies of those that assert three degrees or orders though ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of

the trouble of producing testimonies against those cited by us, we make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by dint of holy Scripture, *id verum quod primum*.

Having passed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happinesse to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this employment, we shall contract our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royall Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamentall accessions granted to the person, doe not make any substantiall change in the Office; the real difference between that Episcopall Government, which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchy, consists in *ipso regimine, & modo regimini*, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether these three forementioned essentials of Episcopall Government, were the same in both: for the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise be not. And we humbly receive your Majesties Pious advertisement, (not unlike that of *Constantines*) stirring us up as men unbiassed with private interests, to study the neereft accommodation and best resemblance to the apostolicall and primitive times. But for your Majesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery, which

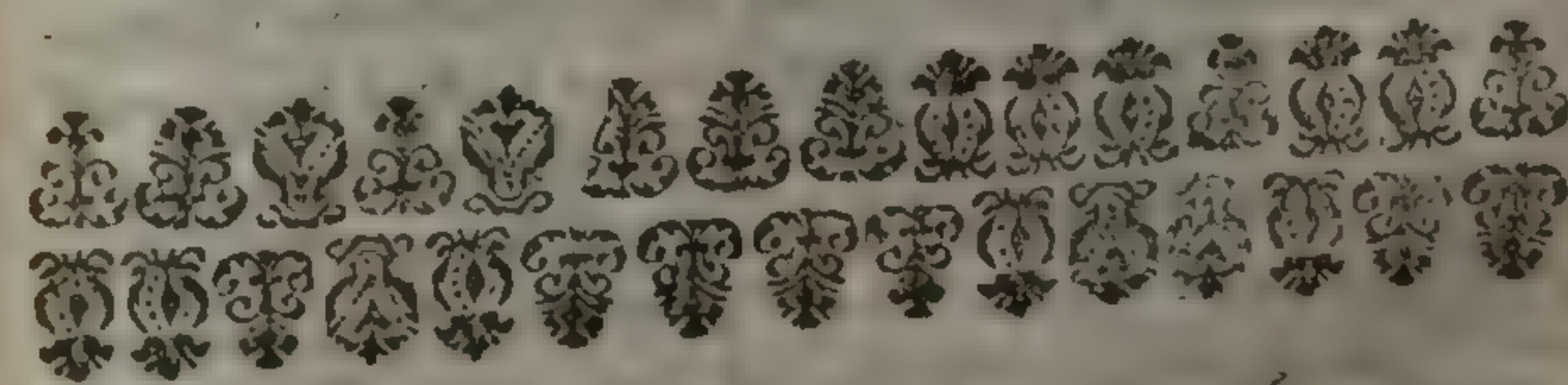
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 which you seem to found upon these two Texts, two
Tim. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 4. 14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*,
 and other defenders of Episcopacy, in Explication of
 that Canon of the fourth Councell of *Carthage*, which
 enjoynes the joynt imposition of the Bishops and
 Presbyters hands, we shall give your Majesty an ac-
 count, when we shall be called to the disquisition
 thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see,
 but that this proviso of your Majesty, renders our ac-
 commodation to the Apostolicall and primitive times
 (whereunto you did exhort us) unseisable. We not-
 withstanding, do fully professe our acknowledge-
 ment of subordination of the outward exercise of juris-
 diction; to the Sovereine power, and our accompa-
 bleness to the Lawes of the Land. As for your Maje-
 sties three questions of great importance, whether
 there be a certain form of Government, left by Christ
 or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Chur-
 ches; whether it bind perpetually, or be upon occa-
 sion alterable in whole, or in part; whether that
 certain form of Government be the Episcopal, Presby-
 terian, or some other differing from them both: the
 whole Volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in
 them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected
 of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor
 will take offence at us, if we hold only to that which
 is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for
 we humbly professe our readiness to serve your Majesty,
 answering these or any other questions, within our pro-
 per *capacities*, according to the proportion of our
 mean abilities.

For your Majesties condiscention, in vouchsafing
 us the liberty and honour of examining your learned
 Reply, clothed in such excellency of Stile, and for
 your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we
 are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty we

His Majesties third Paper delivered, &c. 251
 render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall
 pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may
 ever be employed in a Subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in
 this point under debate, *sucession* is not the best *clew*
 and most certaine and ready way to find out the Ori-
 ginall; for to go that way is to go the furthest way a-
 bout, yea, *to go backward*; and when you are at the
spring, viz. the *Scripture* it selfe, you go to the *Rivers*
 end, that you may seek the *spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty, and
 the two Houses of Parliamt, by the right hand of
 his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing
 our unhappy differences, and of settling of the Com-
 mon wealth of Iesus Christ, which is the Church; so
 as all the Members thereof, may be under you in all
 godlinesse, peace and Honesty.



*His MAJESTIES finall Answer con-
 cerning Episcopacy, November the first,
 1648.*

VVHat you have offered by way of reply to his
 Majesties second paper of Octob. 6. in yours
 of October 17. in order to the further satisfaction of
 his conscience in point of Episcopacy, His Majesty
 heard when it was publickly read by you, with dili-
 gent attention, and hath since (so far as his leasure
 would permit) taken the same into his private and
 se-

serious Consideration; Wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter, in debate; but also taketh speciall notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the Body and Conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length, would require more time than his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, Especially since his Majesty hath often found mutuall returns of long answers, and Replies, to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new questions, than informing the conscience by removing former scruples.

1. *Reply, Sect. 1.* 2. *As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of his Majesties first paper.* It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the severall points, in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply) (Sect. 7.) a single person who is but a meer Presbyter hath no right to exercise: And it being withall evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiasticall sense, & as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers, which a meer Presbyter hath not; the Conclusion seemeth naturall and evident, that such a power of Church-Government as we usually call Episcopall is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. *Reply, Sect. 3. 5.* *As to the Bishops Challenge, First when*

when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and cantoned out the Episcopall Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (Sect. 6.) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the Office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*that of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone. Secondly you infer from his Majesties words, 'That the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more than was formerly pretended to.' Which inference his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles, and others; his Majesty said but this only, 'That the Bishops challenge no more, or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopall Office, than what properly falleth under one of these three. The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good. For he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely spiritual, his Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much what the same in all times of the Church; And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops & Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by your relating to *Crisostom & Hierom* taketh to be the same lating to *Crown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty you call the times of *Crown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty seeth no necessity, that the Bishops challenge to the power of Jurisdiction should be at all times, as large

as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have bin; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes doe challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, That in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own Rules, and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their Government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiasticall Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords Supper, enjoining penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others. But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civil power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing

nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their Gifts, and Enablements only; whereas his Majesty in that paper hath in express words named as Extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude those not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majesty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reason of the different acception of it subject to mis-construction) and the dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles. Neverthelesse, although his Majesty sees no cause to dislike their opinion, who derive the Episcopall power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is so clear, and evident, and the warrant from him express but in general terms (As my Father sent me, so send I you, and the like) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evidentiall way, than upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. Reply, Sect. 6. *As to the definition of Episcopacy.* First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Episcopall, his Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly his Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy, Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, viz. that they had each their severall peculiar charges, and that within their severall precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others. Nei-

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needful that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together; It would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue, is not the Name or Work merely, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a generall or common Work: I judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar to that Office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, nor infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbyter.

4 Reply, Sect. 7. As to the Scriptures cited by you, Tit. 1. Acts 20. 2 Pet. 5. First when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave you:) and you mistake it too, more wayes than one for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of the places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although his Majesty be not sure that the proof wil reach forth in each of those places, which words plainly evidence that which you call his Majesties Concession to be a

deed no concession; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usual in Disputations, *Dato, non concessio*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, 'That in those times of the Church there was no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least found that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scripture. What his Majesty said is confessed on all sides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those places mentioned as the Office & Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposal) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is to manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, *viz.* When you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words *τοῦ ποιῆσαι & ἐπισκοπεῖν*, and from the circumstances of the Text, and otherwise adding withall that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alleged therein. Hereunto his Majesty saith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper

per, for any great difficultie he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, & knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjecturall Expositions of Scriptures are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgment and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise His Majesty could have then told you, That there are, by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some probabilities in the text, interpret those places in the Acts & in S. Peter of Bishops properly so called & in the restrained Ecclesiasticall sense, rather than ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them to be meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words *ἐπισκοποι* (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applyed to them as inferiour Pastors in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the flock being in both the places expressely mentioned) which hindereth not, but the words may in a more peculiar manner be applyed to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; but still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more than that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premises in your paper there laid together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those Names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty

well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of S. Paul to Timothy, Wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that Timothy might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those offices: So in the directions given to Timothy throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work and duty of a Bishop, that Timothy might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge: and that the same was after by Ecclesiasticall usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not: But the distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, & *Episcopus pastorem*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitnessse of the word as may seem by that passage, where you say, that his Majesty hath said, that *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person, the stile of *Episcopus pastorem*, than there is in using of the word *ἐπισκοπος*, or in calling *Deeg* the Master of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it self, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles, and Timothy and Titus (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present businesse it matters not) had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really *Episcopi pastorem*.

The appropriation of the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices, considering that it was done so early, and received so universally in the Church

Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majesty hath great reason to believe, that it was done by consent of the primitive Bishops, meerly in honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whole persons, and personall prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather than Apostles, in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain the succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopall Function, not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolicall; that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-originnall of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity & reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate & even passions, of orthodox belief, sundry of them uninteressed in the quarrel, and some of them at times by interest & education byassed rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat, & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions.) Namely that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is *στασις*, The Ordinance of God; That it seemed good to the holy Ghost so to order it, &c. Inasmuch as they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as lead-
there

thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (*θεὸς λόγος*, Gods word teacheth it, *ipertis Scriptura testimoniis*, It appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture, *discimus ex hoc loco*, From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equall thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessened thereby: inasmuch as one witness for the Affirmative ought to be of more value than ten for the Negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interessed, than of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kinde of tryall, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet, in the true stating of it, & in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact, and not of right; For what right soever the Bishops have or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact if it be not in the most plain historical manner that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rationall & proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Iudgement, but especially to the practice of the nearest and subsequent times; according to the received Maxims, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Consuetudo optima interpretis Legum*. Now he that shall find by all the best Records extant, that the distinction of Bishops from, & the superiority over Presbyters was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the whole World, and their government submitted unto so unanimously by the Presbyters, that there never was any considerable opposition made there-against before *Aerius* (and that cried
E b down

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down as an *Heretic*) nor since till this last Age: & shall
duly consider withall, that if *Episcopall government*
had not an indubitable *institution* from the *authority* of
Christ and his *Apostles*, or if any other form of *Church*
government could have pretended to such *institution*,
had bin the most impossible thing in the world, when
there neither was any *outward certaine power* to enforce
it, nor could be any *General Councell* to establish it, to
have introduced such a form of *Government* so sud-
denly and quietly, into all *Christian Churches*, and
not the Spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that ap-
peareth for above three hundred yeares, to have
been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or o-
ther motive, to stand up in the just defence of their
owne and the Churches liberty against such an *usur-*
pation. His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall
consider the *premises*, together with the Scripture
evidences that are brought for that *Government*, will
see reason enough to conclude the same to have some-
thing of divine institution in it, notwithstanding all
the evasions and objections that the subtil wit of man
can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore
his Majesty thinketh it fit, plainly to tell you, that
such Conjecturall interpretations of Scripture as he
hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely
soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough
to remove him from that judgment wherein he hath
been settled from his Childhood, and findeth so con-
sonant to the judgment of Antiquity, and to the con-
stant practice of the Christian Church for so many
hundred yeares; which in a matter of this nature
ought to weigh more than meer conjecturall infe-
rences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested.
Which having now once told you his Majesty
thinketh himsef discharged from the necessity of
making so large and particular an Answer to every alle-
gation

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gation in the sequell of your reply, as hitherto he hath
done.

6. Reply, Sect. 9. As to the Apostles Mission and
Succession, To make his answer the shorter to so long
a discourse, his Majesty declareth, that his meaning
was not by distinguishing the Mission and unction
of the Apostles, so to confine them, as if they should
relate precisely and exclusively, the one to the of-
fice, the other to the abilities, but that they did more
especially and eminently so relate: For the Apostles
after their last mission, (*Matth: 28. 19, 20.*) where-
by they were further warranted to their Office, and
Worke, were yet to wait for that promised anointing
(*Luke 24. 49. Acts 1. 4.*) the speciall effect where-
of was the enduing them with Gifts of the Holy
Ghost, for the better and more effectually performing
of that their work and Office, nor was it his Majesties
meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in the Apo-
stolicall Office to those gifts only, (For his Majesty
afterwards in the same paper mentioneth other extra-
ordinaries also, as before is said) but only to instance
in those gifts, as one sort of extraordinaries, where-
in the Apostles were to have no successors. But
his Majesties full meaning was, that the whole Apo-
stolicall Office (setting aside all and only what was
personall and extraordinary in them) consisted in
the worke of teaching and governing, which being
both of necessary and perpetuall use in the Church to
the worlds end, the Office therefore was also to con-
tinue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles
being mortall, to be transmitted and derived to others
in succession: And that the Ordinary Successors of
the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office,
both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the
Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in
part, and into the Office of Teaching only; and that
medi-

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 mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom
 they are to be ordained, & authorized thereunto, which
 his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving
 of the Apostolicall Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said con-
 cerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles,
 that it may appear not to have been said *gratuit*, is this.
 The things which the Scriptures record to have
 been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others
 at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts
 of power merely extraordinary; others acts of an or-
 dinary power, but of necessary and perpetuall use;
 othersome lastly, and those not a few, Occasional
 and Prudentiall, fitted to the present condition of the
 Church in severall times: To the Apostles in matters of
 the first sort none pretends succession: nor are either
 the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or
 the directions that they gave to others what they
 should doe in matters of the third sort, to be drawn
 into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules,
 binding all succeeding Church-officers in all Times
 to perpetuall observation. So that there remain the
 things of the middle sort onely, which we may call
 Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have or-
 dinary and standing Successors. But then the difference
 will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Sub-
 stantials and Prudentials may be known, and distin-
 guished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures
 do not afford any particular discriminating Characters
 whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts
 being related in the like narrative forms, and the
 directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like
 preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of neces-
 sity be had to those two more generall Criterians [the
 Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common
 Usage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instruct-

the Ministers at the style of ing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhor-
 ting them to Piety, and good Works, administering the
 Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teach-
 ing: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over
 their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations
 of Ecclesiasticall affairs belonging to the Office of Go-
 verning, are matters of great importance, and necessa-
 ry concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times,
 and therefore were to be concredited to standing Of-
 ficers in a Line of Succession, and accordingly were
 judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the
 constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But that on
 the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence
 from Bloud, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directi-
 ons given for the ordering some things in the Church
 Assemblies, *1 Cor.* 14. For making provisions for the
 poor, *1 Cor.* 16. 1. For the choice and maintenance of
 Widowes, *1 Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James*
 5. 14. and other like, were but occasionall, prudential,
 and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Church-
 es, and the practice of them accordingly laid aside.
 So for the succession into the Apostolicall Office, wee
 find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the
 Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy*
 and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing
 the Churches. And common Reason and Prudence
 dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the
 Church, that there should be many Teachers within
 a competent Precinct, but not so that there should
 be many Governours; And the difference of Bishops
 and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been
 by continuall usage received, and preserved in the
 Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the pre-
 sent times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of
 Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office
 as was ordinary and perpetuall; and such a distinction
 of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath former-
 ly

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ly expressed, needeth no further confirmation from
Scripture (to such as are willing to make use of their
Reason also, which in interpreting Scripture upon all
other occasions they are enforced to do) nor any
thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further
answer; onely that distinction of Eminently and For-
mally, because you illustrate it by instancing in Him-
self, his Majesty could not but take notice of, which
he either understandeth not, or thinketh your illu-
stration thereof not to be very apposite: For Actions
and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and de-
monstrate the same as effects doe their causes. The A-
postles therefore acting in the ordinary exercise of
Church Government, did act not Eminently only, but
Formally also, as Bishops rather than Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. Reply. Sect. 10. 15. First, whether there were
Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant to dispute.
Onely, because you often call for Scripture prooffe, his
Majesty thought fit to admonish you, that in your
Answer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy*
and *Titus* were Evangelists, and that Evange-
lists were such Officers as you described) Neither of
which if it should be denyed, you could clearly prove
from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of
other Writers to attest it, as in your Reply you have
now done *Mr. Hookers*; Neither have you indeed
brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to
prove either of both sufficient to convince him that
were of a contrary minde.

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 12.) to mistake that
which was the third point in that part of his Majesties
paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were
Evangelists, or no; (concerning which his Majesty
neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the
Church

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the Ministers at the Isle of Wight.
Church government they exercised, they acted as
Evangelists (as you affirme) and so onely as extraor-
dinary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having said that
the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing)
proveth it from *2 Tim. 4.* and concludeth. *Constat item*
fuisse officium utriusq. Bishop and Evangelist the same
Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that
place is taken generally, and not in the speciall sense;
that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospell at large
(and the Context there indeed seemeth to import no
more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office.
And *Scaltrius* not onely affirmeth, That *S. Paul* ap-
pointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Epbesus* and *Creet*, not
as Evangelists, but as Church-governours; but saith
further, That the Epistles written to them both doe
evince it, and also bringeth Reasons to prove it. Up-
on what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the
conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Majesty cer-
tainly knowes not: But if this be one of their Argu-
ments (as to their best remembrance from whom his
Majesty had the information, it is) That if *whatsoever*
is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the A-
postles, and by *Timothy* and *Titus*, in point of Ordination,
Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that
they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be
no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any or-
dinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid. His Ma-
jesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts
to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as
extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversi-
on of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since up-
on this very ground especially, the *Socinians* deny
all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the
Church.) And secondly if the contrary be proved
by *Gillespy*, &c. by good Arguments, That they acted
as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they

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they have not thereby laid a better foundation for
the claim of Bishops, viz. of governing the Churches
as single persons in ordinary Office) than either they
or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty
which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as
you have done, viz. *The Scriptures never call them Bi-*
shops but the Fathers do: whereas if you had followed
his sense in that paper, you might rather have deli-
vered thus, *The Scripture describeth them as Bi-*
shops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of
yours, *The Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist, some*
of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn: You
should have said rather, *The Scripture doth not any*
where affirm of Titus, nor clearly prove of Timothy,
that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangelists;
but that in governing the Churches they acted
as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by
sundry late Writers (the evasion it selfe having
been out of late minted) refuted, and rejected.
For that of yours, *The Scripture relates their*
motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them
to be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete: It should have
been, *Neither doth their motion from Church to*
Church hinder, but they might afterwards be
fixed at Ephesus and in Crete: Neither doth their
being Bishops at *Ephesus* and *Crete* hinder, but they
might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be
by the Apostles appointment often employed other
where. For that of yours, *The Scripture makes distinc-*
tion of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Tim-
othy and Titus were both: It should have been, *The*
Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists
and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only
successively be both, but even at the same time also
be called by both Names.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Though you say, *You do not undervalue the*
Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned, yet you endea-
your (which commeth not far short of undervaluing) to
lessen the reputation of both but too much, of those
testimonies by putting them off, as if when they re-
port *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bi-
shops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusi-
on, and not exactly as to the point in debate. But of
Hierom, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause,
the contrary is evident, who in this catalogue of Ec-
clesiasticall Writers, wherein he was to deliver things
Fide Historica, and to describe the persons of such as
are registred in that catalogue by their proepr and
known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expressly sti-
leth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Policarp*, and others,
Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other-
side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesie Antiochene*,
or *Alexandria Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference
so constantly and exactly throughout the whole book,
that nothing can be more clear, than that he under-
stood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise, than in the
Ordinary Ecclesiasticall sense, and as a Bishop is di-
stinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you allege
out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men,
he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times; and
by *Domnica dispositio*, the espreffe precept of Christ,
unlesse you would have him contradict what himselfe
hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimo-
nies in the behalfe of Episcopall superiority, are so clear
and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all
the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function
over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make
him *Arbitrator* in the whole businesse: as for the Ca-
talogues, there will be more convenient place to speak
of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long discourse concerning the severall
sta-

station: and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Creet* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needfull (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Creet*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the severall Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withall (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you presse again of 1 *Tim.* 13. and *Titus* 15. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your owne judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Creet*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colleges of Presbyters in those places before their comming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colleges had power

er to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; Then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the worke; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your Principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *I hat in the same very Epistle to Timothy, out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling*: Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word *ἐπιτιθεῖν* to the remoter Substantive Grace or Gift; and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English by derivation from that Greek word of Priesthood in *Timothy* himself, and not a College or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by *ἐπιτιθεῖν* there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a College of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopall Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely cleare proof for the establishing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which

As to the Angels of the Churches.

8. Reply. **H**is Majesties purpose of naming these
16. 17. Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently
declared in his second, required no more to be granted
for the proving of what he intended, but these two
things onely: first, that they were *personae singulares*;
and then that they had a superiority in their respec-
tive Churches, as well over Presbyters as others, which
two being the *Peritrochis* or definition of a Bishop,
his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That
they were Bishops: That the Epistles directed to
them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threat-
nings, and other the contents thereof, did concerne
their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole
Churches (which in your last you again remember)
his Majesty did then and doth still believe, finding
it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles them-
selves, and to the consentient judgement of Inter-
preters. Onely his Majesty said, and still doth, That
that hindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the
Epistles were directed, were *personae singulares* still.
This his Majesty illustrated by a Similitude, which
though it doe not hold in some other respects, and
namely those by you observed (for his Majesty ne-
ver dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it per-
fectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as
is evident enough, so that there needeth no more to
be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary
from Revel. 2. 24. *But I say to you* (*ὑμῖν* plurally) *and to*
the rest in Thyatira; is plainly of no force, if those Co-
pies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting,
be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I say*

the Ministers at the Isle of Wight:
to you the rest in Thyatira: But following the ordi-
nary Copies, the difficultie is not great, such manner of
Apostrophes by changing the number, or turning the
speech to another person, being very usuall both in
prophetick Writings, such as this Book of *Revelation*
is, and in Epistles of this nature written to one; but
with reference to many others therein concerned.
Beza expoundeth it, *ὑμῖν, to you*, (that is, the Angel
as President, and his colleagues the other Presbyters)
and to the rest, that is, to the whole flock or People;
which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the
like forms of speech to be used in a Letter written to
a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen
especially, but yet the whole Town generally were
concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from
a Lord, containing some Orders for his own household
especially, and generally for the whole Township,
but by Inscription directed to his Steward onely, or the
like.

The consent of Antient and later Writers was pro-
duced by his Majesty for the prooffe of the two things
before named onely, but especially of the first, *viz.*
That the Angels were *personae singulares*: (For the lat-
ter, *viz.* That they were superiour to Presbyters also,
had been confessed by your selves in your first grant
before) but was not produced to prove the conclusi-
on it self immediately, *viz.* That they were Bishops
in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimo-
nies come up even to that also. But to the first point,
That they were single persons, the concurrence is so
generall, that his Majesty remembreth not to have
heard of any one single Interpreter, before *Tright-*
man, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet
the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole
Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at
all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, ex-
pound

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 pound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one
 single person or other, insomuch as he maketh one
Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another *Queen Eliza-*
beth, another *Cranmer*, another *Cheminus*, and the
 like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant
 Divines agree in this, That the *Angel* was a single
 person, some affirming plainly, and that *intermi-*
ne he was the Bishop; some naming the very persons
 of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*,
 and others; some calling him the chief Pastor or Su-
 perintendent of that Church; and those that speake
 least, and were more or lesse disaffected to Bishops,
 as *Beza*, *Doctor Reynolds*, the *Geneva Notes*, and even
Cartwright himself, the *revisata* President or chief a-
 mong the Presbyters. And this they doe sundry of
 them, not crudely delivering their Opinions onely,
 and then no more, but they give Reasons for it, and
 after examination of the severall Opinions prefer this
 before the rest, affirming, That *Doctissimi quique in-*
terpretes; all the best learned Interpreters so under-
 stand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise,
Non nisi facere Textui velint, unlesse they will offer
 violence to the Text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the Sub-
 division of those that had divided themselves from
 the common judgement of this Church, was meant
 by his Majesty, as to the Subdivision in respect of this
 particular of the *Angels*, wherein they differ one from
 another, and not as to the division in respect of their
 dislike of Bishops, wherein they all agree: And truly
 his Majesty doth not yet see, how either their diffe-
 rences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no
 accomodation in the World being able to make all
 the people of the whole Church, nor yet a College
 consisting of many Presbyters, to bee one single
 person) or their recess wholly excused in the
 latter

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to the Ministers at the Isle of Wight.
 latter, their dissenting from the common and
 received judgement, practise of the Christian
 Church, in the matter of Episcopacy, and the
 evill consequents thereof, having in his Maje-
 sties opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the
 Protestant Religion, and given more advantage (or
 colour at least) to the Romish party, to asperse the
 Reformed Churches in such sort as we see they do,
 than their disagreement from the Church of *Rome* in
 any one controverted point whatsoever besides hath
 done.

As to the Apostles Successors.
 9. Reply, **H**ere little is said, the substance whereof
 17. 18. hath not been answered before; His
 Majestie therefore briefly declares his meaning here-
 in, That the Apostles were to have no necessary Suc-
 cessors in any thing that was extraordinary either
 in their Mission or Vnction; that his Majesty spake
 not of Succession into abilities otherwise than by in-
 stance, mentioning other particulars withall; which
 thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the
 third time by you mentioned; That in the Apostles
 Mission or Commission (for his Majesty under the
 name of Mission comprehendeth both) and conse-
 quently in the Apostolicall Office, as there was some-
 thing extraordinary, so there was something ordinary
 wherein they were to have Successors; That Bishops
 are properly their Successors, in the whole Apostoli-
 call Office, so far as it was ordinary, and to have Suc-
 cessors; That therefore the Bishops Office may in
 regard of that succession, be said to be Apostolicall;
 That yet it doth not follow that they must needs be
 called Apostles, taking the denomination from the
 Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apo-
 stles, peculiarly so called, was not given them from
 the

His Majesties third paper delivered to
the Office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word
it self rather importeth) from the immediatenesse of
their Mission, being sent immediately by Christ him-
selfe; in respect whereof for distinction sake, and in
honour to their persons, it was thought fitter by those
that succeeded, in common usage, to abstain from that
Denomination, and to be stiled rather by the name
of Bishops; That if the Apostles had no Successours,
the Presbyters (who are their Successours in part, im-
mediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be
very hard set to prove the warrant of their own Office
and Mission; which if not derived from the Apostles
(who onely received power of Mission from Christ)
by a continued line of Succession, his Majesty seeth not
upon what other bottom it can stand.

As to the standing Officers of the Church.

To Reply, **Y**ou insisted upon two places of Scrip-
ture, *Phil. 1. 1.* and *1 Tim. 3.* to prove
that there were to be no more standing Officers in
the Church, than the two in those places mentioned,
(viz.) Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and
Deacons; whereunto his Majesties answer was, *That*
there might be other though not mentioned in those places:
which Answer, though it were alone sufficient, yet ex-
-*abundanti*, his Majesty shewed withall, that supposing
your interpretation of the word Bishop in both the
places (viz. to denote the Office of Presbyter onely)
there might yet be given some probable conjectures,
which (likewise supposed true) might satisfie us, why
that of Bishop in the distinct sense, should not be
needful or proper to be named in those places.

His Majesties former Reason, though in *Hypothesis*
and as applyed to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but
conjecturall, yet upon the credit of Ecclesiastical
Histories and consideration of the condition of those
times

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times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will
appear in *Thesis*, to be undoubtedly true, (viz.) That
the Apostles themselves first planted Churches; that
they were perpetuall Governours and chief of all the
Churches whilest they lived; that as the burthen grew
greater by the propagation of the Gospell, they assig-
ned others in *partem cura*, committing to their charge
the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principall
Cities and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *James*
at *Ierusalem*, and others in other places, sooner or la-
ter, as they saw it expedient for the service of the
Church: That the persons so by them appointed, to
such peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of Or-
dination and other Government under the Ap-
-*ostles*, and are therefore in the Church-histories called Bishops
of those places in a distinct sense; That in some places
where the Apostles were themselves more frequently
conversant, they did for some while govern the
Churches immediately by themselves, before they set
Bishops there; and that after the Apostles times, Bi-
shops onely were the ordinary Governours of the
Churches of Christ: And his Majesty believeth it can-
not be proved either from cleare evidence of
Scripture, or credible testimonies of Antiquity, that
ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exercised the pow-
er either of Ordination at all without a Bishop, or
of that which they call Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction
in ordinary and by their owne sole Authority,
or otherwise, than as it was delegated unto them
upon occasion, and for the time by Apostles and Bi-
shops.

For that place of *Phil. 1. 1.* in particular, his Maje-
sties purpose being, not to interpret the place (a
work fitter for *Divines*) but to manifest the inconse-
quence of the Argument, whereby you would con-
clude but two standing Officers onely, because but two
there
Cc

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 there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why
 there might be no Bishops in distinct sense there
 mentioned, because possibly the Apostles had not as
 yet set any Bishops over the Church, which his Maje-
 sty did not propose as the only, no, nor yet as the
 most probable conjecture (for which cause He delivered
 it so cautiously, saying only it might be probable) but
 as that which for the present came first into his thoughts,
 and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least
 meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations;
 as namely, of those Expositors who take the words
 (with the Bishops and Deacons) as belonging to
 the persons saluting, and not to be persons saluted;
 to this sense, *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Jesus
 Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons, to the Saints
 at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that
 with great probability too, That *Ephraoditus* was
 then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be men-
 tioned in the inscription of the Epistle, because he was not
 then at *Philippi*, but with *St. Paul* at *Rome* when the
 Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if they
 be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable)
 that place of *Phil. 1. 1.* will not do you much service in
 this Question.

In the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle
 directly and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly
 concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do it
 advisedly, and Ordaine none but such as are meet-
 ly qualified for the service of the Church; which di-
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 substance to belong to all of after-times, as well as unto
 them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those
 Epistles there should be any particular directions given
 concerning the Ordination of Bishops, at least unless it
 could be made appear, That they were to Ordain some
 such in those places, nor perhaps if that could be made

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 to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the
 least signification of any difference at all between Pres-
 byters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination,
 both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by impe-
 sition of hands, and so both comprehended under that
 generall rule (*Lay hands suddenly on no man*) but only,
 and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the
 making of distinct Offices) in the qualification of their
 persons.

The Ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters,
 and Deacons, being to be performed in the same man-
 ner, and the same qualifications after a sort, saving
 such differences as the importance of their severall Of-
 fices make (which is more in the degree than in the
 things) being required in both, it had been sufficient
 if in those Epistles there had been directions given con-
 cerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one sort
 of Church-Officers only; as in the Epistle to *Titus*
 we see there are of Presbyters only, and no mention
 made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whence it may
 be as well concluded, that there was to be no other
 standing Officer in the Church of *Creet*, but Pres-
 byters only, because *St. Paul* giveth no directions to
Titus concerning any other, as it can be concluded,
 that there were to be no other Officers in the Church of
Ephesus, but Presbyters and Deacons only, because
St. Paul giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning
 any other.

As to the Ages succeeding the Apostles.
 11. Reply, Concerning the Judgment of Ecclesiasti-
 23, 27. C. All Writers about the Divine Right of
 Episcopacy, his Majesty conceiveth the difference to be
 more in their Expressions than in their Meaning, some
 calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolicall*, and some (but not
 many) *Ecclesiasticall*; but that

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 there might be no Bishops in distinct sense there
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 calling it *Divine*, others *Apostolicall*, and some (but not
 many) *Ecclesiasticall*; but that the superiority of Bishops
 above

above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the Institution either of Christ himself or of his Apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues* some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all difference: there are in Historiographers, in reciting the succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Macedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*: And we find far more inextricable intricacies in the *Fasti Consulares*, the *Catalogues* of the *Roman* Consuls (notwithstanding the great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactness of the *Roman* Histories) than are to be found in Episcopall *Catalogues*, those especially of the chiefest Cities, as *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*; &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in those Countries, and Consuls in *Rome* in those times, so (as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the *Catalogues* of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubteth not but many of the differences you instance in, may be fairely reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing is false.

That which you say in answer hereunto, That the Ecclesiasticall Writers called them Bishops, in compliance to the Language of their owne times, after the names of Presbyters and Bishops were distinguished, but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper sense now in question; his Majesty who believeth the

distinction of those names to have begun presently after the Apostles times (if not rather whilst some of them were living) doth consequently believe, that as they were called so, they were indeed Bishops in that proper sense. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epistles every where, how wide the difference was in his time between a Bishop and a meer Presbyter: If *Hierom* only, and some a little Ancienter than he, had applyed the name Bishop to persons that lived some ages before them, there might have been the more colour to have attributed it to such a compliance as you speak of, but that they received both the name and the truth of their Relations from unquestionable Testimonies and Records, his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by many instances: for example, to instance in one only, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angell of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*; Many years after *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whose writings were never yet called in question by any) not onely affirms him to have been constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the Apostles, but saith, That he himself when he was a Boy had seen him an old Man; *Tertullian* next, a very ancient writer affirmeth, That he was Bishop of *Smyrna*, there Placed by *S. Iohn*. After cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiasticall History, not only historically reporteth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of other Bishops, but citeth also for it the Testimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenaeus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles too.) Then *Hierom* also and others lastly attest the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Eusebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certaine Testimonies and Grounds for sundry others, whom they report to have been Bishops; which

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Testimonies and Records are not all come to our
hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, his Majesty saith; First, that though it be not Reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise, yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the maine Cause lay not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himselfe to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestnesse of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lesned the reputation of their own learning, than the Authority of those Epistles in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the Ancient Fathers gave full credence thereunto.

The Apostles, you say, did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular places; and yet the Bishops of some particulars place are reported in the Catalogues to have been successors to such or such of the Apostles, and even the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues: To this his Majesty saith, that the Apostles were formally Bishops by vertue of their Mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordaine themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutuall consent, make choice of their Severall quarters wherein to exercise that function, as well as Saint Peter and Saint Paul by consent went the one to the Circum-

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sion, the other to the Gentiles: But such appositionments did not entitle them to be properly called Bishops of those places, unless any of them by such Agreement did fixedly reside in some City; of which there is not in the history of the Church any clear unquestionable example: If that *JAMES* the Lords Preacher (who was certainly Bishop of *JERUSALEM*) were not one of the twelve Apostles, as the more generall opinion is that he was not, yet did the Churches of succeeding times, for the greater Honour of their Sees, and the memory of so great Benefactors, enter in the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their Bishops, the Names of such Apostles as had either first planted the Faith, or placed Bishops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their dayes among them: yet doth not the true Title of being Successors to the Apostles thereby accrue to the Bishops of those places, more than to other Bishops, but all Bishops are equally Successors to the Apostles in two other respects: The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continuall line of Seccession from the Apostles: The other, for that they succeed into the same Apostolicall power and function, which the Apostles as ordinary Pastors had.

Your motion to reduce this whole dispute to Scripture alone, were the more reasonable, if the matter in question were properly a poynt of Faith: And yet even in poynts of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and sundry other) the uniform judgment of the Church hath been ever held of very considerable regard; but being a matter of Fact, as before was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver entirely and perspicuously in any one place together, but obscurely, and by parts, so that the understanding thereof dependeth meerly
C c 4 upon

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upon conjectural interpretations, and uncertain probabilities; nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters, whereby to discern what therein is extraordinary, what prudentiall, and what of necessary and perpetual Obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the subsequent judgment and practice of the Christian Churches into the Tryall.

As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.

12. Reply, **H**IS MAJESTY reſpecth very much what is said 29, &c. **H**is Majesty, that you have now againe when declined the answering of thole three Questions clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them*: Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemical Discourse concerning those Questions: but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your Judgment was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, and which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgment, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelihood better satisfaction to his judgment than he yet findeth or can hope to find from you: so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, untill one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his

his Majesty (*viz.*) Either that there is no certaine form of Church Government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civil power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopall, but some other, his Majesty thinks himselfe excusable in the judgment of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolishing of that Government in the Church, which he found here settled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, untill this last age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the Holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of ENGLAND, as well by their Personall subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himselfe in his judgment and Conscience, hath for these many yeares been, and yet is perswaded to be at least of Apostolicall Institution and practice: Truly his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great slownesse and unwillingnesse to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a small conclusion of this whole discourse (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this Paper) he must plainly tell you, that your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should worke much upon his judgment, whilst you are fearfull to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer

His Majesties Quere, &c.
 er in the close of your Paper, and thinketh you sh^d
 do very well to joyn therewith your utmost poss^{ible}
 endeavors towards the settling of Truth, and a happy
 Peace in this unsetled Church and Kingdom.

His MAJESTIES Quere concerning *EASTER*
 propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners
 at *Holmby*, April 23. 1647.

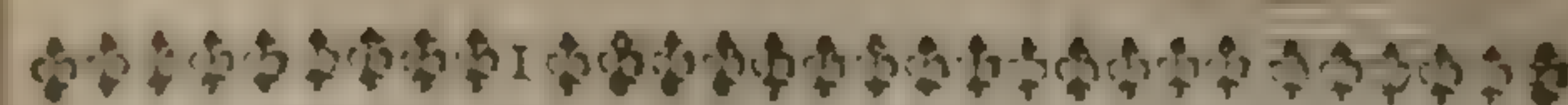
I desire to be resolved of this Question, *why the new*
Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter?

The Reason for this *Quere* is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was institu-
 ted by the same authority, which changed the
 Jewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday; for it
 will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is
 discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday:
 wherefore it must be the Churches authority that
 changed the one, and instituted the other; Therefore
 My opinion is, that those who will not keep this
 Feast, may as well return to the observation of Satur-
 day, and refuse the weekly Sunday: when any bo-
 dy can shew Me that herein I am in an error. I
 shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Till
 when you know My minde.

C. R.

Direct



Diverse of His MAJESTIES Prayers: Whereof the
 three last, used by Him in the time of His Restraint,
 were delivered to the Bishop of *London* at His
 Death, from whom they were taken away by
 the Officers of the Army.

1. *A Prayer used by his Majesty, at his entrance in*
State into the Cathedral Church of Exeter, after he
had defeated the Earle of Essex his Forces in Corn-
wall.

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy
 Ghost, I here humbly adore Thy most Sacred
 Majesty; and I blesse and magnifie thy Name, for
 that thou hast been pleased so often, and so strangely
 to deliver Me from the strivings of My people. Father
 forgive them who have thus risen up against Me, and
 do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to
 Me; that I being firmly established in the Throne Thou
 hast placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church commit-
 ted to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people
 in Truth and Peace, through Iesus Christ our Lord,
 Amen.

2. *A Prayer drawn by His Majesties speciall Direction*
and Dictate, for a blessing on the Treaty at Vx-
bridge.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and
 Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge
 of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech Thee,
 to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present
 Treaty,

Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himselfe hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vaine, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3. *A Prayer drawne by His Majesties speciall directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight.*

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty, brought about by thy providence, and the only visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himselfe hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4. *A Prayer for Pardon of sins.*

A Almighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prosecute My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Iesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not bin long ago consumed: But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Iesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extrem to mark what is done amiss, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My Naturall corruption. And as thou doest adde days to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to My dayes, that when I have past this

this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlasting Kingdome, through the merits of Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

A Almighty and most mercifull Father, as it is one of Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Vs any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and, all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having bin so much obliged by Thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a pretended way of Iustice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies: for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine owne Mercies; to which, O let Thy Iustice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people.

people, which Thou hast committed to my charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Iesus Christs sake our onely Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies. But if thy wrath against My hainous offences, will not otherways be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy wil be done; yet, with humble importunity I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my Mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for Ius sake who suffered for Me, even Iesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

Severall

Severall things relating to His MAJESTIES
Death.

1. *Four Queries propounded by His MAJESTY, when the Armes Remonstrance was read unto Him, at Newport, concerning the intended tryall of His Majesty.*

1. **V** Hether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety?

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far, as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party?

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personall Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form onely, might be charged against him as an act of Obstinacy or wilfull persistance in what is alleged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propositions?

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend against the law, ought to be tryed by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questioned is without a Peer, and if the Law which of it se

is but a dead Letter) seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgement be given, and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgement derive their power, which may (by the same Law) be deemed the supreme power or authority of Magistracy in the Kingdom?

2. *His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Injustice, which he intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. but was not permitted.*

HAVING already made My protestations not onely against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case alone concerned. But the duty I ow to God in the preservation of the true liberty of My people; will not suffer Me at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of England call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Mee to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in England; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

D d

There

* Here about
I was stoppt,
& not suffe-
red to speake
any more
concerning
Reasons.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles. 8. 4.* Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land hath made it; and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Jurisdiction, which was never one it self (as is well knowne to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House, to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of Englands Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission

on without the consent at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seeke; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at NEWPORT, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and harried from thence as a Prisoner; upon which I account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to My power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; Then for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded; And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are deterred or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulnessse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years; (nor will

will I say; what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me do goe on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be to sensible evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the Trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, 22 January; but against Reason was hindered.

3. The Names of those persons, who by a pretended Commission, from a few of the late House of Commons (acted therein by the Councell of War) were appointed to judge their *Liege Lord* and Sovereign the King.

Serjeant *John Bradshaw*,
President.
Tho. Lord Fairfax, Gen.

L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwell*,
Com. Gen. *Ireton*.
Major General *Skippon*.

Sr. *Hardresse Waller*.
Col. *Valentine Walton*.
Col. *Thomas Harrisor*.
Col. *Edward Whally*.
Col. *Thomas Pride*.
Col. *Isaac Ewer*.
Col. *Richard Ingolsby*.
Sr. *Henry Mildmay*.
Sr. *Tho. Honeywood*.
Thomas Lord Gray.
Philip Lord Lisle.
William Lord Munson.
Sr. *John Danvers*.
Sr. *Tho. Maleverer*.
Sr. *John Bowcher*.
Sr. *James Harrington*.
Sr. *Wil. Brereton*.
Rob. Wallop Esq;
Wil. Henningham Esq;
Isaac Pennington Alder.
Tho. Atkins Ald.
Col. *Rouland Wilson*.
Sr. *Peter Wentworth*.
Col. *Henry Martin*.
Col. *Wil. Pursey*.
Col. *Godfrey Rosvill*.
John Trenchard Esq;
Col. *Emmett Morley*.
Col. *John Berkestead*.
Col. *Mat. Tomlinson*.
John Blackestone Esq;
Gilbert Millington Esq;
Sir. *Wil. Constable*.
Col. *Edw. Ludlow*.
Col. *John Lambert*.
Col. *John Hutchinson*.

Sr. *Arthur Hazlerige*.
Sir *Michael Lewisley*.
Richard Saloway Esq;
Col. *Rob. Tickburn*.
Col. *Owen Roe*.
Col. *Rob. Manvering*.
Col. *Rob. Lilborne*.
Col. *Adrian Scroope*.
Col. *Richard Dean*.
Col. *John Okey*.
Col. *Robert Overton*.
Col. *John Harrison*.
Col. *John Desborough*.
Col. *William Goffe*.
Col. *Robert Duckenfield*.
Cornelius Holland Esq;
John Carn Esq;
Sr. *William Armine*.
John Iones Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Thomas Lister Esq;
Ben. Weston Esq;
Peregrine Pelham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Horpe*.
John Nut Esq;
Tho. Challenour Esq;
Col. *Alg. Sidney*.
John Anlaby Esq;
Col. *John Moor*.
Rich. Darley Esq;
Wil. Say Esq;
John Aldred Esq;
John Flagge Esq;
James Nelthorp Esq;
Dd 3

Sr. Wil. Roberts.

Col. Francis Laffels.

Col. Alex. Kirby.

Henry Smith Esq;

Edmond Wild Esq;

James Chaloner Esq;

Josias Barnes Esq;

Dennis Bond Esq;

Humphrey Edwards Esq;

Gregory Clement Esq;

John Fray Esq;

Thomas Wogan Esq;

Sr. Gregory Norton.

Col. Edm. Harvey.

John Dove Esq;

Col. John Venne.

John Foulkes Alderman.

Tho. Scot Ald.

Tho. Andrews Ald.

Wil. Camley Esq;

Abraham Rurrell Esq;

Col. Anthony Stapley.

Roger Gratwick Esq;

John Downes Esq;

Col. Tho. Horton.

Col. Tho. Hammond.

Col. George Fenwick.

Serjeant Robert Nichols.

Rob. Reynolds Esq;

John Lisle Esq;

Nicholas Love Esq;

Vincent Potter.

Sr. Gilbert Pickering.

John Weaver Esq;

Roger Hill Esq;

John Lenthall Esq;

Sr. Edward Baynton.

John Corbet Esq;

Tho. Blunt Esq;

Tho. Boone Esq;

Aug. Garland Esq;

Aug. Skinner Esq;

John Dickswell Esq;

Col. George Fleerwood.

Simon Maine Esq;

Col. James Temple.

Col. Peter Temple.

Daniel Blagrove Esq;

Sr. Peter Temple.

Col. Tho. Waite.

John Brown Esq;

John Lowry Esq;

In all 300.

4. The Names of those persons who presumed at severall times actually to sit as Judges upon their Sovereign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Council and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant John Bradshaw,
President.

L. Gen. Oliver Cromwel.

Com. Gen. Ireton.

Major. Gen. Skippon.

Sr. Hardesse Waller.

Col. Tho. Harrison.

Col. Edw. Whalley.

Col. Ths. Pride.

Col. Isaac Ewer.

Col. Rich. Ingolby.

Sr. Henry Mildmay.

Thomas Lord Grey.

Philip Lord Lisle.

Wil. Lord Atunson.

Sr. John Danvers.

Sr. Tho. Maleverer.

Sr. John Bowcher.

Sr. James Harrington.

Sr. Wil. Brereton.

Wil. Henningham Esq;

Isaac Pennington Alder.

Tho. Atkins Alder.

Rouland Wilson Ald.

Sir Peter Wentworth.

Col. Henry Martin.

Col. Wil. Purefoy.

Col. Godfrey Bosvil.

Col. John Berkestead.

Sr. Wil. Constable.

Col. Edw. Ludlow.

Col. John Hutchinson.

Col. Rob. Titchburne.

Col. Owen Roe.

Col. Adrian Scrope.

Col. John Okey.

Col. John Harrison.

Col. John Desborough.

Cornelius Holland Esq;

Miles Corbet Esq;

Francis Allen Esq;

Peregrine Pellham Esq;

John Gourdon Esq;

Serjeant Francis Thorp.

Tho. Challoner Esq;

Col. John Moor.

John Atured Esq;

Col. Francis Laffels.

Henry Smith Esq;

James Chaloner Esq;

Dennis Bond Esq;

Humphrey Edwards Esq;

Gregory Clement Esq;

John Fry Esq;

Tho. Wogan Esq;

Sir Gregory Norton.

Col. Edmond Harvey.

John Dove Esq;

Col.

D d 4

Col. John Ven.
 John Foxlikes Alderman.
 Tho. Scor Ald.
 Tho. Andrews Ald.
 William Cawly Esq;
 Anthony Stareley.
 John Lisle Esq;
 John Corbet Esq;
 Thomas Blunt Esq;
 Tho. Boone Esq;
 Col. George Fleetwood.
 Col. James Temple.
 Col. James VVaic.
 John Brown Esq;
 Wil. Sav Es;
 Col. Mat. Tomlinson.
 John Luckeston.
 Gilbert Millington.

Abraham Barrell.
 Col. John Downes.
 Mr. Norton.
 L. Gen. Tho. Hammond.
 Nicholas Love.
 Augustine Garland.
 Sir Miles Levesey.
 John Dexwel.
 Simon Mayre.
 Daniel Blagrove.
 Col. Robert Lilburne.
 Col. Rich. Deane.
 Col. Hensler.
 L. Col. Wil. Goffe.
 Mr. Carew.
 Jo. Jones.
 92. In all.

Counsellours assistants to draw up the Charge against the King.

Dr. Isaac Dorlaus, Mr. Ask, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Steele, (who by reason of sicknesse was absent.)
 Serjeant Danby, Serjeant at Arms, Mr. Phelps Clerk.
 Messengers and Door-keepers.
 Mr VValford, Mr. Radly, Mr. Paine, Mr. Howel, Mr. Hull. And Mr King Cryer.

5. A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester the day before His Death.

His Children being come to meet him, He first gave His blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, and bade her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever she

he should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon His knee, said, Sweetheart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charles* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last; and therefore I charge you doe not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths owne Hand.

VVhat the King said to Me the 29 of Jan. 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment

ment My self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid Me read Bishop Andrew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Polity, and Bishop Lau's Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and My Brother, to be obedient to her: And bid me send His blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after he had given me His blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had beene most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also, to their own Souls: and desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that wee should be all happier; than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

7. Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THE King said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not

not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soule, for he had two Brothers before him, and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unlesse it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to feare the Lord, and he would provide for him.

S. A Copy of a Letter from the PRINCE to the KING, dated from the HAGUE January 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertaine) Report, I have sent this Bearer *Seamour* to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring Me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majesty, I doe not onely pray for Your Majesty according to My Duty; but shall allwayes be ready to do all which shall be in My power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majesty, upon

SIR,

Your Majesties most humble
and most obedient Son and
Servant.

Hague, Jan. 23.
1648.

CHARLES.

The Supercription was thus, For the King.



His MAJESTIES last Speech on the Scaffold at
His Martyrdom, Jan. 30. 1648.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what His Enemies have set forth, nor had his Majesty any Copy (being surprized, and hastned by thote that thirsted after His blood,) save onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sence perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as tis thought) and turning himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect.

I shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace, would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt, as well as to the punishment: But I think it is My duty to God first, and then to My Countrey, to cleare My selfe both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I

I shall begin first with My innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needfull for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnesse, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Privileges, they began upon Me, it is the *Militia* they began upon; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought fit for to have it from Me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that as for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments betweene them and Me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde My selfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon Me: Many times he does pay Iustice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I wil onely say this, That an unjust * sentence (*E. of Strafford*,) that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust Sentence upon Me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian; I hope there is (*Pointing to D. Juxon B. of London*) a good man that will bear Me witnesse, that I have forgiven all the Word; and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of My Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God But forgive them.

But this is not all, My charity must goe farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with S. Stephen; *That this be not laid to their charge*; and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs) I do wish with all My Soul, (I see there is some here will carry it further) (*Turning to some that wrote*) that they may endeavor the peace of the Kingdom.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; first you are out of the way; for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in My opinion is never just, except there be a good and a just Cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you goe beyond the first quarrel that you have, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: For if there be onely matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyrat said to Alexander, that he was the great Robber, himselfe was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I do thinke for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Successour) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order, and to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this, A National Synod freely

freely called, freely debating among themselves; must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, the Lawes of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Sovereign are cleane different things; and therefore, untill you do that, I mean, That you doe put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs it was for this, that now I am hither come: for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will onely say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested, then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience. I pray God, that you doe take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bishop of London. Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are

are to Religion, yet because it may be expected, that You should say somewhat) declare your self for the Worlds satisfaction in that point.

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that I had almost forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honest man (* pointing to the Bishop,) I think will witnesse it. Then turning to the Officers He said, Sirs excuse Me for this same. I have a good Cause, and I have gracious God; I will say no more.

Bishop of London. There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You shall finde a great deal of Cordial Ioy, and Comfort.

King. I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.

The Bishop. You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown; a good exchange.

Then the King, after some short and fervent ejaculations, in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven; immediately stooping down, laid His neck upon the block: And then the Wretch appointed to give the fatall blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King said, stay for the signe.

And after a very little pause, stretching forth His hands, The Villain at one blow, severed His Head from His Body.

*Sic cecidit Carolus, sic universa simul
Britannia.*

Lam.

Lam. 4. 20. The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17. The Ioy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.

The Crown is fallen from our Head, we unto us that we have sinned.

For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim.

The Names of the Pretended Mayor and Aldermen of London that personally proclaimed the Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

A ld. Andrews Mayor,	Alderman Bateman,
Alder. Pennington,	Alderman Atkins,
Alderman Foulke,	Alderman Fenne,
Alderman Kenrick,	Alderman Avery,
Alderman Byde,	Alderman Wilson,
Alderman Edmonds,	Alderman Dethick,
Alderman Pack,	Alderman Foot.

Proclaimed May 30. 1649.

A Speech made in Latine, by Dr. Lotius, to King CHARLS the Second, in the name of the Consistory of Hague, and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLS the First, 7. Calend. Martii, 1649.

SERENISSIME REX.

Vilum est Deo, summo rerum Arbitro ac Moderator, grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMAE

E:

PA-

FAMILIÆ TUÆ MAIESTATIS, cujus & nos sensu tacti, adsumus, ut si quod Magnus Paracletus consolationis suggererit Verbum, MAIESTATIS TUÆ in sinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars solatii, & cum eo Patientiæ periculis, cum nimium intenti instrumentis & causis secundis, verberantem Dei manum non, ut oportet, consideramus. Nos ii non sumus, SERENISSIME REX, qui eos velimus excusatos, quorum Horrendum Facinus tam alti doloris causa est, absit, absit. Testamur enim coram Deo nostro, cui in Spiritu servimus, nos illud *inauditum paricidium*, illam *execrandam lacerationem* Sacrosancti & Uncti Capitis & æternum deplorandam *unici* reformatæ Professionis Regis mactationem ex animo *detestari*. Quippe ni; cum *Sacrilegium* hoc *Scelus* directè impugnet Deum *per quem Reges regnant*, ejus verbum in Scriptura comprehensum, ubi quæ CÆSARIS sunt, CÆSARI danda voluit; qui Regum Rex est; imò injuriam faciat summam Rationi, Humanitati, & communi subjectorum Societati, & ostendat quid sit esse INDEPENDENTEM.

Quod volumus SERENISSIME REX, hoc est, adoranda esse, & probanda illa in Deo Iudicia, quæ ut ingrata a nobis sunt & occulta sapè, semper tamen iusta. Quibus annumeranda præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per impios Dens probos exercet, vultque ut sui gemant sub pressura *alienigenarum* (*ANGLOS enim eos non agnoscimus qui in Legitimum REGEM ANGLIÆ insurgunt*) quod tamen, quod solenne sit, non est quod à Scripturis utriusque Testamenti probemus, cum gravis hujus TUÆ MAIESTATIS SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ afflictio abundè testimonio sit & documento. Ubi nihil nobis Christianis reliqui quam cum Regio vate ingeminare, *Iacui Domine quia tu fecisti*, respicere ad castigantem Dei Dextram: Animato possidere in patientia; forti Ultori Causam suam com-

commendare, & Patrocinium; quinimò, pro inimicis intercedere apud Deum: sic prævit *Regia & jam in & cum CHRISTO suo felix Anima SERENISSIMI TUÆ MAIESTATIS PARENTIS*, ad exemplum Salvatoris & Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reversi ad Dominum Deum serio pœnitentiam agant, apudque eum culpam confessi & deprecati, & ad Dominum suum redeant & quoque ad officium, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos fore maximum ad veram Consolationem compendium existimamus. Quæ quidem consolatio tum demum vint exercebit suam, cum voluntas nostra, se supremæ voluntati subjecerit atque actu ipso probaverit, nos non frustra, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamasse, *Iat voluntas tua*.

Commendamus insuper TUÆ MAIESTATI curam ac defensionem Religionis Reformatæ, cujus in Anglia Palladium in Synodi Nationalis Canonibus constare, qui inter *Beatos patres triumphat*, in *Articulo MORTIS REX PIENTISSIMVS* declaravit; quod nos certe non abnuimus: quam Religionem ut sanctam rectam habere velit TUAM MAIESTATEM obnixè obsecramus. Quod superest, veneramur, venerabimurque summum illud Numen, ut TUAM MAIESTATEM Spiritu suo in Cœlis induat; salutaribus Consiliis, & Consiliariis instruat; patientiam illi largiatur: Sceptrum confirmet; totamque adeo SERENISSIMAM FAMILIAM in integrum restituat, & interim consolatur: Paxit hoc Pater Misericordiarum & omnis Consolationis in Christo per Spiritum Sanctum. Amen.

12. The same done into English.

Most gracious King,

I hath pleased God, the Supreme Iudge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great Comforter shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us; when, being too intent upon instrumentall and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. Wee are none of those (*most Gracious KING*) who would any way excuse them, whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid.*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls, that *never til now heard of Paricide*, that execrable Butchery of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD, and that eternally to be lamented Murther of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why not? When as this *curfed* and *Sacrilegious wickednesse* does directly fight against God, *By Whom Kings Reigne*; against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of Kings, wils and commands us, to *give unto Caesar the things which are Caesars*. Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be, to Reason, Humanity, and the common society of Subjects: And (in a word) shews what it is to be an Independent.

Most Renowned King, our desire is, That the judgments of God be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irksome* unto us, and oft-times

secret, yet they are alwayes just. Among which, these are especially to be numbred, viz. when God tryeth and exerciseth the Righteous by the wicked, and is pleased that his own should groan under the pressure of Strangers (For we do not acknowledge them to be ENGLISH-MEN, who do rise up against the lawfull KING OF ENGLAND.) Which yet, that it is frequent and usuall, there is no need wee should fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the Old and New Testament; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES *most Renowned Family*, is an abundant testimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Christians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didst it*; to look up to the chastising right hand of God; to possesse the soul in patience; to commend his own Cause and the defence thereof to the Mighty Avenger; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our Enemies, as the Royal Soul of your MAJESTIES *most Royall Father*, who is now happy in, and with his Christ, has led the way, after the Example of our Saviour, and the Protomartyr S. Stephen: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may seriously repent, and confessing this their great wickednesse unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same, may likewise return to their Liege-LORD, as also to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the most excellent and compendious way to true consolation. Which consolation shall then at length exercise its full vigour, when our will shall have submitted it self to the supreme Will of GOD, and have evidenced actually and indeed, that we have not in vain, or lesse diligently, so often cried aloud unto GOD, *Thy will be done*.

We further commend to Your Sacred MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religion

on; whose very safe-guard or Sanctuary in England, He
(that *Most Religious KING*) who now triumphs among
the blessed did declare to the World at the point of death
to rest in the Canons of a National Synod*. Which truly
we can in no wise deny. Which Religion we do ear-
nestly beseech, that Your MAJESTY would preserve
safe and entire. * See the Kings Speech upon the 30. of Jan.

For the rest, we doe, and ever will pray unto the
most high God, to endue your MAJESTY with his
heavenly Spirit; and to furnish you with saving
Counsels, and faithful Counsellors; to grant you pa-
tience, to establish Your Throne, and so to restore
Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to
their full Rights; and in the mean while to comfort
them.

The Father of mercies, and of all consolation, grant
this in Jesus Christ by his holy Spirit. Amen.

Severall Verses made by divers Persons upon His Ma-
jests Death.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO falls that Stately Cedar, while it stood,
That was the onely Glory of the Wood.
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span,
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heavenly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book;
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
Hee'l finde thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too; And

And sadly see our loss; and, though in vaine,
With fruitless Wishes call Thee back againe.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hearse,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verse.
Thy sufferings and Thy Death let no man name;
It was thy Glory but the Kingdoms Shame.

I. H.

Another:

HE that can spel a Sigh, or read a Tear,
Pronounce amazement, or Accent wild Fear:
Having all Grief by Heart, He, only He
Is fit to write and read thy Elegy
Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art so hard a Text,
Writ in one Age, not understood i'th' next.

Another:

WITHIN this Sacred Vault doth lye
The Quintessence of MAJESTY;
Which being Set, more Glorious shines;
The best of Kings, best of Divines;
Britans shame, and Britans glory,
Mirror of Princes, compleat Story
Of Royalty, One so exact;
That th' Elivers of praise detract:
These are saint Shadows: But endure,
He's drawn to th' Life in's POURTRAICTURE:
If such another Piece you'l see,
Angels must Limn it out, or He;
Where Wisdom, Grace and Eloquence,
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Marty'd He was to save His Laws,
Religion, People, from the Jaws
Ec4

Of

OF ASSASINES; whose weal he sought,
Even then when they his Murder wrought
With horrid Plots, that headlesse He
(And in Him Church and State) might be.
Then since Correlatives they were,
Three Kingdoms in one KING lies here.

A. B.

Upon the Picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair
before the High Court of Injustice.

4
Not so Majestick in thy Chair of State!
On that but Men, here God and Angels wait:
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death can move thee from thy Kingly sphear
Constant and fixt, whom no black storms can soyl,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soule, are all in oyl.

Upon the Picture of his Majesty in His Blew Wastcoat.

5.
Here shines in a Field Azure such a Star,
As at whose Fall Kingdoms amazed are.
Fixt by his fall. Chief of the sparkling train,
Bove Ariadnes Crown, or his own Wayn.
Look! what a ray he darts? So Moses shone
While stupid Israel fore a Calf was thrown.
Onely the difference make, you must account
Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

Upon the Death of King CHARLES the first.

6.
Great! Good! and Just! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,

Pde

I'de weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once againe.
But since thy loud-tong'd blood demands supply
More from Briareus hands than Argus eye,
I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets sounds
And write thy Epitaph with blood and wounds.

MONTROSSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

7
A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that incomparable and
glorious Monarch Charls the first.
TO speak our Griefs at full over thy Tombe
(Great Soule) we should be Thunder-struck and
The Triviall Offerings of our bubling eyes (dumbe;
Are but fair Libels at such Obsequies.
When grief bleeds inward, not to sense, tis deep;
We have lost so much, that 'twere a sin to weep.
The wretched Bankrupt counts not up his summes,
When his inevitable ruine comes:
Our losse is finite when we can compute;
But that strikes speechlesse, which is past recruit.
We are sunk to sense, and on the ruine gaze,
As on a curled Comets fire blaze,
And Earthquakes fright us when the teeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatall birth;
As inundations seize our trembling eyes,
Whose rowling billowes over Kingdoms rise.
Alas! our ruines are cast up, and sped
In that black Totall--Charls is murdered.
Rebellious Gyant hands have broke that Pole,
On which our Orbe did long in glory roul.
That Roman Montrose with in act we see.
Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee.
The Butchery is such as when by an,
The fourth division of the World was slain.

The

The mangled Church is on the shambles lay'd,
 Her Massacre is on thy Block display'd,
 Thine is the peoples epidemick Tombe,
 Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatomb*.
 The Powder-Mine's now fir'd; we were not freed,
 But respited by Traytors thus to bleed.
November's plots are brew'd and broach'd in worke,
 And *January* now compleats the Curse.
 Our Lives, Estates, Laws, and Religion, all
 Lie crush'd and gnashing in this dismall fall.

Accursed day that blottedst out our Light!
 May'st thou be ever muffled up in Night.
 At thy return may fables hang the skie;
 And tears, not beams, distil from Heavens Eye.
 Curs'd be that smile that gilds a Face on thee,
 The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
 Let not a breath be wafted but in moans,
 And all our words be but articulate groans.
 May all thy *Rubrick* be this dismall Brand;
 Now comes the miscreant Dooms-day of the Land.
Good-Friday wretchedly transcrib'd; and such
 As Honour brings alike, though not so much;
 May Dread still fill thy minutes, and we sit
 Frighted to think what others durst commit.
 A Fact that copies Angels when they fell,
 And justly might create another Hell.

Above the scale of Crimes; Treason sublim'd,
 That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
Ravilliack was but under-graduate sin,
 And *Gowry* here a Pupil Assassin.
Infidel wickednesse, without the *Pale*;
 Yet such as justifies the Canniball.
 Ryot Apocryphal, of *Legend* breed;
 Above the Canon of a Jesuites Creed.
 Spirits of witchcraft quintessentiall guilt;
 Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.

Monstrous

Monstrous in bulk; above our *Fancies* span;
 A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.
 So desperately damnable, that here
 Ev'n *Wild* sinels Treason, and will not appear.
 That murdering-piece of the new Tyrant-State,
 By whom't hath shot black Destinies of late;
 He that helch'd forth the Loyall *Barlieghs* doom,
 Recoyles at this so dreadfull Martyrdom.
 What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
 That thus can grinde a seared Conscience?

Hellish Complotment! which a League renew;
 Lesse with the men, than th'actions of the Jews.
 Such was their Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry
 Of *Justice* now, 'mongst them was *Conscience*:
Pilates Consent is *Brutus* Sentence here;
 The *Judgement Hall* remov'd to *Westminster*.
 Hayle to the Reeden Scepter; th' Head, and knee
 Act o're again that Curled Pag'antry.
 The Cautiffe crew in so'lemn pomp guard on
 Mock'd Majesty as not to th' Block but Throne:
 The Belch agrees of those envenom'd Lyes;
 There a Blaphemer, here a Murderer dyes.
 If that goe fill in horror, this comes next,
 A pregnant Comment on that gallie Text.
 The Heav'ns ne're saw, but in that Tragick hour,
 Slaughter'd so great an Innocence and Power.

Blood-thirsty Typers! could no stream suffice
 T'allay that Hell within your breasts but this?
 Must you be so full in *Leopatra's* Cup,
 And drink the price of Kingdoms in a sup?
 Curses of Loyalty have deeply bled
 And now y have damnd the Royall Fountain Head.
 Cruel *Lucio*! at once to drain
 The *Archer*, and the rich *Baillie* vein:
 The tinctures great that popular murder brings,
 Tis Scarlet deep, that's dy'd in blood of Kings.

But

But what, could *Israel* finde no other way
 To their wish'd *Canaan* than through the Red Sea?
 Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
 And he beth' Guide to this outrageous Crowd?
 Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeit his hand,
 And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine command*?
 Doth th' ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
 And Holy-water wash the Devils face!
 Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock'd Ark inclose?
 Can *Esau's* hands agree with *Jacobs* voice?
 Must *Molechs* fire now on the Altar burn?
 And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn?
 Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Baw'd? and can
 The Bibles' Cover serve the Alcoran?
 Thus when Hell's meant, Religion's bid to shine
 As *Faux* his Lantern lights him to his mine.
 Here, here is *sins non ultra*, when one Lie,
 Kils this, and stabs at sacred *Majesty*,
 And though his sleepy arm suspend the scourge
 Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
 Though the soft hours awhile in pleasure flye,
 And conquering Treason, sing her Lullabie;
 The guilt at length in fury hee'l inroul
 With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
 Time may be when that *Iohn-a-Leyden* King,
 His Quarters to this Tombe an Off'ring bring,
 And that *Re-Munster'd* Rabble may have eyes
 To read the price of their dear Butcheries:
 Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
 The judgement will be deeper though 't be late.
 And after-times shall feel the curse enhanc'd,
 But how much they've the sin bequeath'd, advanc'd.
 Mean time (most blessed shade the Loyall Eye
 Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.

Thy

Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast our sense,
 'Bove balmy *Spikward's* fragrant Redolence,
 Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
 A plague-fore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.
 Wonder of men and goodnesse I stamp'd to be
 The Pride, and flourish of all History.
 Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
 All th' Heroes glory which the Earth e're lost.
 Thy privilege tis onely to commence
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
 Thy wrongs were bove all sweetnesse to digest,
 And yet thy sweetnesse conquer'd the sharp test:
 Both so immense and infinitely vast,
 The first could not be reach'd but by the last.
 Mean Massacres are but in death begun;
 But thou hast liv'd an execution.
 Close coffin'd up in a deceased Life;
 Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife.
 Friends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn
 And weep thy un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
 Such black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
 But for thy presence *Car'sbrook* had been Hell.
 Thus basely to be Dungeond, would enrage
 Great *Bajazet* beyond an Iron Cage.
 That deep indignity well might have layd
 Something the lighter from a *Tamerlain*.
 But here *Sidenian* Slaves usurpe the Reins,
 And lock the Scepter-bearing arms in chains.
 The spew'd-up surfeit of the glut'nous Land:
 Honour'd by scorn, and clean beneath all brand,
 For such a Varlet-Brood to tear all down,
 And make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
 T'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
 The blood of Honour by their vile reproach,

What

What royall eye but thine could sober see,
 Bowing so low, yet bearing up so high?
 What an unbroken sweetnesse grac'd thy Soul,
 Beyond the world, proud conquest, or controul?
 Maugre grim cruelty, thou keepst thy hold;
 Thy thorny Crown was still a Crown of Gold.
 Chaste Honour, Might enrag'd could ne're deflowr,
 Though others th' Use, Thou claim'dst the Right of
 power.

The brave *Athenian* thus (with lopp'd-off Hands)
 A stop to swelling sayls by's mouth commands.
 New Vigour rouz'd Thee still in thy Embroyls
Anteus like, recruiting from the Foyles.
 Victorious fury could not terroure bring
 Enough to quell a captivated King.
 So did that *Roman Miracle* withstand
Hetrurian shoals but with a single hand.
 The Church in thee had still her Armies; thus
 The World once fought with *Athanasius*.
 The Gantlet thus upheld; it is decred,
 (No safety else for Treason) *Charls* must bleed.
 Traytours and Sovereigne now inverted meet;
 The wealthy Olives drag'd to th' Brambles feet.
 The throne is metamorphoz'd to the Barre;
 And despicable Bats the Eagle dare.
 Astonishment! yet still we must admire
 Thy courage growing with thy conflicts high'r.
 No palsied hands or trembling knees betray
 That Cause, on which thy soule sure bottom'd lay.
 So free and undisturbed flew thy Breath,
 Not as condemn'd, but purchasing a Death.
 Those early Martyrs in their funeral pile
 Embrac'd their Flames with such a quiet smile.

What

Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul, that would'st not vail
 In one base syllable to beg thy Bayl!
 How did'st thou blush to live at such a price,
 As ask'd thy people for a sacrifice?
 Th' *Athenian Prince* in such a pitch of zeal,
 Redeem'd his destin'd Host, and commonweal;
 Who brib'd his cheated Enemies to kill,
 And both their Conquest, and their Conquerour sell.
 Thus thou our Martyr dy'dst: but oh! we stand
 A Ransome for another *Charls* his Hand.
 One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
 And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
 Shall treas'rous Heads in purple Caldrons drench,
 And with such veins the flames of Kingdoms quench,
 Then thou art least at *Westminster*, shalt be
 Fill'd in the pompous List of Majesty.
 Thou *Mansel ann* shall in glory rise,
 And tears, and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
 Till when (though black-mouth'd *miscreants* engrave)
 No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave,
 A Vault of Loyalty shall keep thy Name,
 An orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
 On which, when times succeeding foot shall tread,
 Such Characters as these shal there be read.
 Here *Charls* the best of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
 The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.
 Bulwak of Law; the Churches Cittadel;
 In whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell;
 An English *Solomon*, a *Constantine*;
 Pandect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
 Mecke ev'n to wonder, yet of stoutest Grace,
 To sweeten Majesty, but not debase.
 So whole made up of clemency, the Throne
 And Mercy seat to Him were alwayes one.

Inviting

Inviting Treason with a pardoning le
 Instead of Gratitude, a stab he took.
 With passion lov'd, that when He mur.
 Hea v'n conquered seem'd, and Hell to be
 A Prince so richly goo'd, so blest a Reign,
 The world ne'er saw but one, nor can again.

— *Humano generi Natura benigna
 Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe v.
 In quo vera dei, vivensque eluxit imago:
 Hunc quoniam scelerata cohors violavit, acerbas
 Sacrilego Deus ipse petet de sanguine penas,
 Contemptumq; sui Simulacri band linquet inultum.*

Parodia ex Buchanani Geneth: Jacobi sexi
 D. H. K.

*Never roas William so bare
 Fairer or Treason so bold as in
 the ears of that most glorious
 martyr Charles the 1st*

FINIS.

